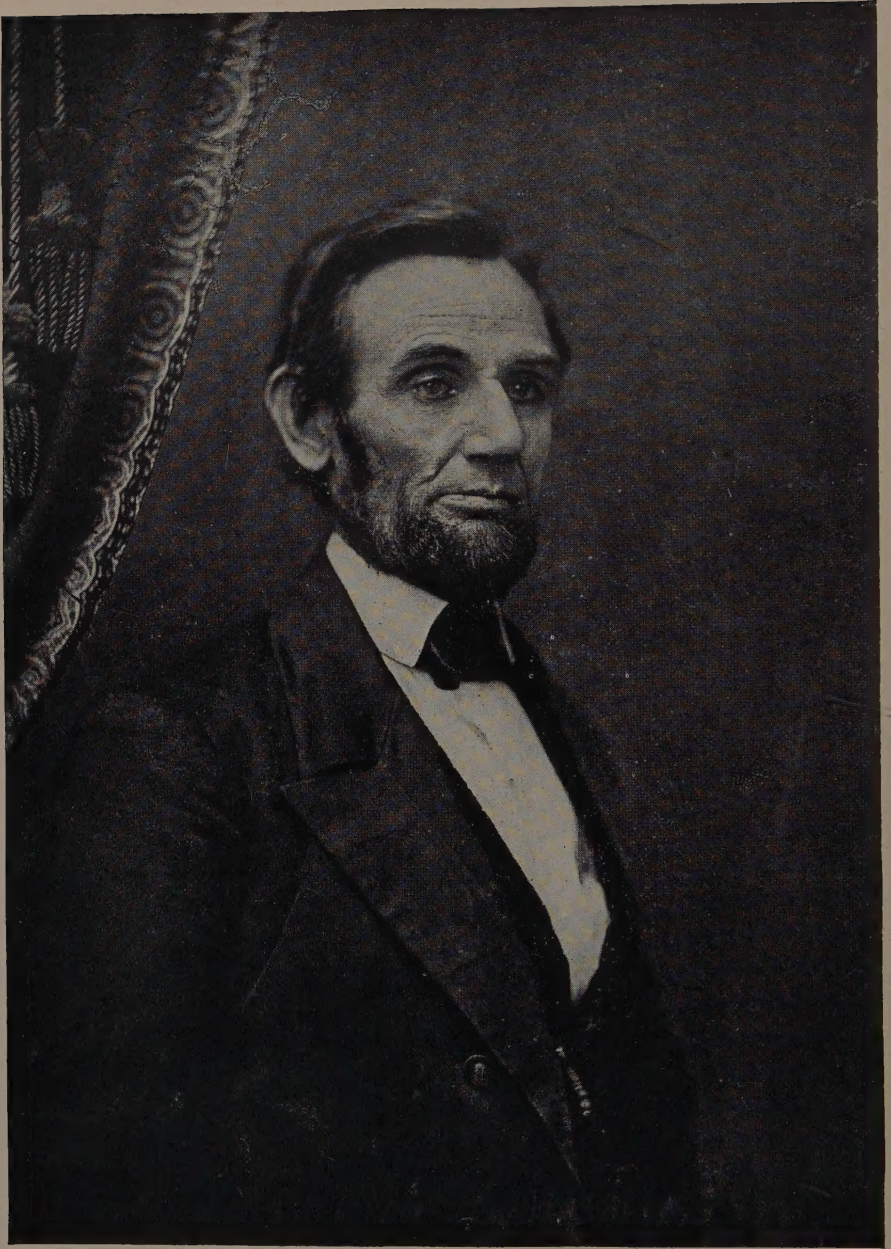


THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN



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ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN 1861

Photograph by C. S. Germon

THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

BY
WILLIAM E. BARTON

Author of THE SOUL OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
THE PATERNITY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Etc.

VOLUME TWO

ILLUSTRATED



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THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

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CHAPTER I

THE FIRST INAUGURAL

IN THE first weeks following his election, Lincoln lived much as he had lived in the interval between his nomination and election. He had already deserted the office and left his law practise to Herndon, practically from the time of his nomination, and occupied an office temporarily assigned him in the state capitol building, which, it must be remembered, stood in the center of the town, and not as now at one side. About a month after his election, it had become apparent that he must adopt some schedule, or at least an approach to one. The *Journal* each day announced his program for the day following, and the hours at which he would receive callers. That he did not adhere to this plan very rigidly is certainly true; but in the last two months he was compelled to reserve for himself some time to devote to preparation for his impending responsibilities. Every day these grew more serious.

Late in January he began his work on his inaugural address. Across the street from the state-house, in an upper room, dingy, dusty and at the back of the building on whose ground floor was a store, Lincoln hid himself away from intruders and began serious work upon this paper whose content might wreck or reunite the Union.

Lincoln owned very few books. He had a modest law-library,

and there were a few gilded volumes on the center-table in his parlor; but a library he can not be said to have had. Herndon, on the contrary, was a buyer of books and a great reader. When Lincoln was ready to prepare his address, he gave to Herndon a list of the books he wanted to use. Herndon procured them for him. He asked for a copy of the Constitution of the United States, and copies of Clay's speech on the Compromise of 1850, and Jackson's proclamation against Nullification. Later he asked for Webster's reply to Hayne. These, according to Herndon, were the only books which he had with him in the dingy back room where, locked away from the visitors then thronging Springfield, he prepared his address. We know how he wrote, pronouncing each word as he wrote it down, and we can imagine with what painstaking care he did his work. When the address was finished, and just before he left for Washington, he took the manuscript to the office of the *Journal*, had it set in pica type, and a very few copies struck off for his own use. We have already reminded ourselves how nearly he lost his copy at Harrisburg, and it would appear from this fact that his duplicates, if he had any with him, were in the same carpet-bag with the original, on which he had been making, and was still to make, corrections and changes.

Lincoln carefully guarded the text of his inaugural address from any premature publication. At one time he appears to have believed that that message could be made at once so firm and so conciliatory that it would be received alike by North and South, as speaking the final and unifying word. He was not, however, quite as silent as is commonly supposed. There is good reason to believe that some addresses in Congress delivered by Illinois members incorporated ideas of the president-elect. It is practically certain that the *Illinois State Journal* gave forth editorial utterances which had Lincoln's approval, and some of them may have come from his own pen. How firm Lincoln deemed it wise to be is shown in an editorial which appeared in that paper on January 22, 1861, entitled *The Right of Coercion and Mak-*

ing War on the States. This contained four definite propositions:

1. No state has a right to secede.
2. It is the duty of the president to enforce the laws.
3. The first Republican president will discharge that duty fearlessly and faithfully.
4. He will confine himself to the enforcement of those laws which affect the interests of the country at large—the collection of revenue and protection of national property—but will not invade a state to secure a repeal of unconstitutional acts of its Legislature; he will merely resist encroachments upon federal authority.

This appeared to some of Lincoln's friends as definite and as kindly a statement as could have been formulated, but it did not meet with universal approval. James Gordon Bennett commented upon this utterance in a leading editorial in the *New York Herald* of Monday, January twenty-eighth:

The great difficulty to any proposition of compromise from the Republican party is not located at Washington, but at the little village of Springfield, Illinois. The President-elect is this difficulty. The magnates, the managers and the Wide-Awakes of the Republican camp look upon Mr. Lincoln now as their fountain of authority, power and spoils. . . . The Union is dissolved. Within a month there will be an organized Southern Confederacy; and then, as the attempt to enforce the Federal laws within its boundary will be the inauguration of a general war, the question recurs, not how to save the Union—for the Union is gone—but how can we preserve the relations of peace? We answer, in the recognition of the Southern Confederacy for the sake of peace.

Just before he left Springfield, Lincoln authorized another utterance in the columns of the *State Journal*. The phraseology is more rhetorical than Lincoln at this time was accustomed to employ, and we can hardly assume that it is wholly the product of his pen; still less can we believe that it was published without his full knowledge and approval:

The seceding states are in rebellion against the Federal Government, and it is the duty of the government to put down the rebellion. Away with compromises. We should not talk of compromise while the flag of the traitors floats over an American fort and the flag of our country trails in the dust. Let us never talk about compromise. Let the stolen forts, arsenals and navy yards be restored to their rightful owners—tear down your rattlesnake and pelican flag and run up the ever glorious Stars and Stripes, disperse your traitorous mobs and let every man return to his duty.*

Except for the heated rhetoric, Lincoln was in this frame of mind when he prepared his inaugural address.

Lincoln had the benefit of much advice from the press of the country while this speech was in preparation. On the Saturday night before the Monday morning of Lincoln's leaving Springfield, Honorable O. W. Browning spent an hour with him, their first long interview since the election. Lincoln two days previously had invited Browning to accompany him to Washington. Browning had declined on account of certain business which he could not well neglect, but did accompany Lincoln as far as Indianapolis, and was, perhaps, the very first man to whom Lincoln submitted his manuscript for criticism. Browning recorded in his diary on that Saturday night that he found Lincoln firmer than he expected, wholly opposed to the Crittenden Compromise, and determined to preserve the Union from disruption. He and Browning were in entire agreement in these matters. It is worth while to remember this, because Lincoln was compelled to change his attitude toward some questions before he delivered the address.

William the Conqueror stumbled and fell as he stepped out of the boat that had conveyed him across the English Channel. His superstitious followers looked on aghast; the accident

*My own conjecture is that Herndon wrote this editorial. The style certainly is not that of Lincoln, but Lincoln surely knew of it and approved its sentiments.

seemed to them a portent of disaster. But William rose with a handful of earth in each hand: "Thus do I grasp England," he shouted. His followers were happy; he had changed the omen of defeat to one of victory. No such good fortune came to Abraham Lincoln to retrieve the unhappy impression made by his secret arrival in the city of Washington. His friends regretted what appeared to have been the necessity for it, and his critics made merry over his care to protect himself from danger while leaving his family on the imperiled train. No one could pretend that he had entered the capital with his best foot foremost.

Sunday morning, February 24, 1861, the reunited Lincoln family sat down to breakfast together in the Willard Hotel. It was interesting to look out of the windows of the extemporized presidential suite at Willard's, a suite located on the second floor, on the Pennsylvania Avenue side, immediately above the main entrance, and see the throng that passed and repassed along the main artery of the nation's capital. But Mrs. Lincoln was more than ready to get to housekeeping again, and the whole family felt dislocated and in lack of a habitation.

On Sunday morning, February twenty-fourth, Lincoln walked with Seward to the latter's customary place of worship, Doctor Pyne's Episcopal Church. Doctor Pyne read the usual prayers for the president of the United States, and interpolated a brief but earnest petition for the incoming administration. After the service, Seward introduced Lincoln to a number of persons present at the service, and to others whom he met on the way back to the Willard. Mrs. Lincoln remained in the hotel. Seward spent the rest of the day in a careful reading of Lincoln's proposed inaugural, and that evening he returned the manuscript to Lincoln with a number of suggestions, several of which Lincoln adopted.

On that afternoon Lincoln had some opportunity to look over the newspapers, to consider their comment on the speeches he had made on his way to the inaugural, and in general to review

the situation in the light of his increasing experience. He had started out by affirming that as yet "nobody was hurt," and that "the crisis was artificial." It had become apparent that somebody was likely to be hurt before long, and the manner of his entry into Washington had given evidence that he himself might possibly be among those who were injured. It was no longer possible to treat the crisis as artificial; it was real and imminent. In conversation with prominent men in Washington, Lincoln admitted that he was more troubled about the outlook than he thought it was discreet to show.

Lincoln received several calls on Sunday afternoon, but he had time to realize how much his journey had wearied him, and to feel the chagrin of public comment on his manners and his utterances. He was caricatured as a buffoon; he was referred to as the "Illinois ape." The fact that he wore black gloves to the opera in the evening of his sojourn in New York, and hung the enormous pair of kid covertures over the red velvet box front, had not escaped attention.

Even that Sabbath day was not free from the intrusion of office seekers. They had greatly annoyed Lincoln before he left Springfield. Lincoln himself was no stranger to the business of office seeking, and he knew, or thought he knew, something of what was before him when he became president. But the pressure and persistence of those who desired office went beyond all that he could have imagined. It left him no rest that day nor any day for months thereafter. ¹

Eight days elapsed between Lincoln's arrival in Washington and his inaugural. There were certain official duties to be performed. He made a formal visit to the White House, where he was politely received by Mr. Buchanan and his Cabinet. He visited the two Houses of Congress, where friends of the new administration welcomed him heartily, and where his enemies received him with ominous silence. He visited the Supreme Court of the United States, and Chief Justice Taney and his associates accorded him courteous recognition. He received

calls from two men who had been candidates against him, Breckenridge and Douglas.

The mayor of Washington and other officials called upon the president-elect. In some respects the most notable of all these visits was one from a deputation headed by an ex-president of the nation. The Peace Conference completed its work on Wednesday, February twenty-seventh. By formal resolution this body sent a delegation to call upon the president-elect, and placed at its head its chairman and most distinguished member, ex-President John Tyler.

Thus a week went by and another Sunday came. That day brought to Lincoln, not an invitation to walk to church with Seward, but a letter withdrawing Seward's acceptance of Lincoln's invitation to head his Cabinet.

This declination of Seward was doubtless prompted by his jealousy of Chase, and by the hearing of some rumor that led Seward to believe that Chase would have a larger influence in the Cabinet than would be comfortable for Seward:

Washington, March 2, 1861.

My dear Sir:

Circumstances which have occurred since I expressed to you in December last my willingness to accept the office of Secretary of State seem to me to render it my duty to ask leave to withdraw that consent.

Tendering to you my best wishes for the success of your Administration, with my sincere and grateful acknowledgments of all your acts of kindness and confidence toward me, I remain, very respectfully and sincerely,

Your obedient servant,

William H. Seward.

The Hon. Abraham Lincoln, President-elect.

Lincoln was much disturbed, and spent Sunday in thoughtful consideration of the matter. Early in the morning of the inauguration he sent to Seward this note, which was dated, as a

matter of form, from the White House, though actually written at Willard's:

Executive Mansion, March 4, 1861.

My dear Sir:

Your note of the 2nd instant, asking to withdraw your acceptance of my invitation to take charge of the State Department, was duly received. It is the subject of the most painful solicitude with me; and I feel constrained to beg that you will countermand the withdrawal. The public interest, I think, demands that you should; and my personal feelings are deeply enlisted in the same direction. Please consider and answer by 9 o'clock A. M. tomorrow.

Your obedient servant,
A. Lincoln.

Hon. William H. Seward.

On Monday night Lincoln and Seward had a long and confidential conference. Lincoln could not afford, as he said to Nicolay, "to let Seward take the first trick." Moreover, Seward had already been, for several months, virtually the spokesman of the administration. This conference brought about an adjustment of the situation; and next morning Seward sent to the president the following short and satisfactory note, and the first internal crisis of the new administration was passed:

March 5, 1861.

My dear Sir:

Deferring to your opinions and wishes as expressed in your letter of yesterday, and in our conversation of last evening, I withdraw my letter to you of the 2d instant, and remain, with great respect and esteem,

Your most obedient servant,
William H. Seward.

The President of the United States.

There was hot debate in both Houses of Congress in its closing hours concerning the Report of the Peace Conference and its recommendations for a constitutional amendment. The hours of that Congress were numbered, but just before its session

ended, a proposed constitutional amendment, numbered Thirteen, was agreed to by more than two-thirds of both Houses of Congress. To that proposed Amendment Lincoln made reference in one paragraph of his inaugural address:

I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution—which amendment, however, I have not seen—has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments so far as to say, that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

It was well, indeed, if this was what he meant, that he should have said this “to avoid misconstruction” of other portions of the address; for it fitted ill with the remainder of the message. Lincoln, in Springfield, in December, 1860, and again on February 9, 1861, had refused the Crittenden Compromise: Lincoln, on the steps of the capitol, on March 4, 1861, accepted this approach to the essential principle of that compromise! One fact doubtless gave him comfort; the proposed amendment did not touch the question of the extension of slavery.

How can we account for this change in Lincoln?

First, and most evident, Lincoln recognized the proposed amendment as virtually a part of the Constitution, which made it a very different thing from what it was when Crittenden had presented it. Both Houses of Congress had adopted it by the necessary two-thirds vote, and the approval of the states was an apparent certainty. Whether he liked it or not, the thing appeared to have been done.

In the next place, Lincoln had come to a much deeper realization of the gravity of the situation. He could no longer regard the crisis as “artificial” nor comfort himself nor attempt to comfort his countrymen with the information that no one as yet had been hurt. Cautious as he had intended his inaugural address to

be, all the important changes which Seward had suggested had been in the line of greater caution, and Seward was the man who had proclaimed the "irrepressible conflict." It was a time for prudent utterance. Lincoln was not responsible for the new so-called Thirteenth Amendment, but if it became a part of the Constitution, that was what he was swearing to support, and he wished no doubt to be entertained that he would keep his word.

It might almost be regarded as a grim joke of providence or fate, that the swift outbreak of war left the proposed Thirteenth Amendment to oblivion. The adoption which Lincoln and the Congress regarded as certain did not occur. Only two of the states took action with regard to it. When, later, a Thirteenth Amendment was really adopted, and that by means which Lincoln himself devised, it was a very different thing from the one Lincoln wrote about in a hastily interpolated paragraph in his inaugural address.*

Washington was filled to overflowing to witness the inauguration of the first Republican president. Every bed in the hotels was filled to its capacity, and hotel beds in those days were elastic, and many people slept upon the floors. Very early in the morning the city began to get itself into condition for the inaugural ceremonies. How anxious General Scott was, and how fearful that some tragedy might interrupt the inaugural proceedings, was shown by the fact that soldiers were stationed along the whole line of march, and riflemen were on the housetops on Pennsylvania Avenue. The president's carriage was surrounded by an armed guard.

Pennsylvania Avenue still lacks the dignity which ought to characterize the most important official thoroughfare in Amer-

*How much the country hoped, and how vainly, from this proposed amendment to the Constitution may be inferred from a cartoon in *Harper's Weekly* for April 13, 1861. It represents Columbia, seated, and wearing the Liberty Cap, handing to Lincoln the amended Constitution. At the feet of the goddess is the American eagle, with the olive branch and no arrows in its claw. Lincoln has on the floor behind him his hat, containing the Chicago platform. With downcast look, and half-extended hand, he accepts the amendment.

ica. But it was far worse then. It was lined on each side by irregular two-story buildings, and the roadway itself was rough. The carriage containing the president and the president-elect made its way down Pennsylvania Avenue, almost hidden from view by the guard. Some observers commended General Scott for his protection of the president-elect, and others sharply criticized him for precautions which they deemed not only wholly unnecessary, but in themselves an incitement to violence.

Shortly before noon, President Buchanan drove from the White House to Willard's Hotel. He was a large, heavy man, rather awkward in his movements. His hair was gray and thin, cut shorter than was the fashion of the time. His face was full, but seamed with wrinkles. His head, which was curiously inclined toward the left shoulder, was surmounted by a low-crowned, broad-brimmed silk hat. He wore an old-fashioned standing collar, forced up to his ears by a white cravat so huge that it resembled a poultice. He was dressed in black throughout, and his swallow-tailed coat was not cut in the latest style.

He dismounted from the open barouche of which, except for the driver, he was the only occupant, entered the front door of the Willard, and soon returned, arm in arm with Mr. Lincoln. A large and curious crowd watched while the two men entered the barouche, sat down side by side, and moved down Pennsylvania Avenue near the head of a rather disorderly and not very impressive procession.

The capitol building was not completed. Work upon it continued practically every day during the Civil War. When Buchanan and Lincoln reached the north side of the capitol, they had to pass through a long board tunnel which had been constructed for the protection of the president-elect.

The crowd was not so large as had usually attended inaugural proceedings, many staying away on account of anticipated disturbance or through lack of sympathy.

A square platform had been built out from the steps of the

eastern portico, with benches on three sides for distinguished spectators.

There was no delay; General Scott had insisted on promptness. The president-elect came forward, dressed in new tall hat, new black clothes, new black boots, and new black whisks. He carried a new black cane, ebony, surmounted by a gold head of unusually large size. He hardly knew what to do in his painfully new clothes, and was especially troubled as to where to deposit his shiny new hat. As Lincoln rose to deliver his address, Stephen A. Douglas, who occupied a seat at the end of the benches on the right of the president, rose and took the president's hat, and held it until it was time for Lincoln to replace it on his head—an act of courtesy which was much commented on at the time, and which must not be omitted from the picture of the inauguration.

Chief Justice Taney, a cadaverous figure in black robe, stood and administered the oath of office.

No man listened to the address of the president with keener interest, or, on the whole with more complete approval, than Stephen A. Douglas. He leaned forward, taking in every word, and nodding his head in conspicuous approval of the more important passages.

Stephen A. Douglas was a politician, and knew well the tricks of his trade. He was accused of insincerity, and he may have been insincere at times. Ambitious he certainly was, and not always unselfishly so. He has suffered at the hands of those authors who have thought it necessary to disparage him in order to make Lincoln seem the greater. This is as unnecessary as it is unfair. Certainly the conduct of Douglas on the day of the inauguration and in the anxious days that followed it is worthy of all praise. Of it mention will be made again in connection with the death of this notable statesman. Suffice it to say that in the early days of his clouded administration, Abraham Lincoln had no truer friend, and that no voice was raised in more eloquent devotion to the Union than that of Stephen A. Douglas.

In a clear, thin, high voice, that carried to the outskirts of the vast assembly that gathered on the unkempt capitol lawn, the new president read the words of his inaugural address:

Fellow Citizens of the United States: In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, to be taken by the President "before he enters upon the execution of his office." . . .

Apprehension seems to exist, among the people of the Southern states, that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any real cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery, in the States where it now exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Those who nominated and elected me did so with a full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and have never recanted them. . . .

I now reiterate those sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the now incoming administration. . . .

I hold that in contemplation of universal law, and of the Constitution, the Union of the States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. . . .

I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states. . . .

This clear and emphatic declaration left no doubt of the position of the new president; and it produced a visible sensation;

and Mr. Arnold states that there were "sober but hearty cheers." The president continued:

In doing this there need be no bloodshed nor violence; and there shall be none, unless it is forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, and occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. . . .

Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence, and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of the country cannot do this. . . .

This country with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise the constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. . . .

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will not be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it. The new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him, who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulties. . . .

The day was bleak and windy, and the inaugural service partook of its chill. Chief Justice Taney was old and feeble, and his words were scarcely audible. The retiring President Buchanan was visibly uncomfortable. General Scott was old and anxious. Lincoln was pale and nervous. Every one was glad

when the formal service was over and Abraham Lincoln rode back along Pennsylvania Avenue with ex-President Buchanan and arrived at the White House without getting shot.

Lincoln's inaugural was addressed particularly to the South. He had used a similar form of direct address on his visit to Cincinnati in 1856, saying that Kentucky was almost within hearing, and he therefore spoke directly to the Kentuckians reminding them that no act of theirs could move Kentucky away from the borders of Ohio and Illinois. So in his inaugural address he spoke directly to the people of the states that had already withdrawn from the Union, and those that were on the verge of withdrawal.

His address excited less discussion in the South than might have been expected. Secession was then considered an accomplished fact, and the inauguration address containing the flat declaration of the president, that secession ordinances were void, was considered only as emphasizing the hopelessness of the situation. Although the tone of the address was nothing if not pacific, it was accepted in the Cotton States as a certain indication that now there must be war.

Comment in the North was not wholly favorable. The literary form of the address was criticized by many. The *Atlas and Argus* of Albany characterized it as "weak, rambling, loose-jointed, and inviting civil war."

Other northern papers treated it as a commonplace production.

Some newspapers spoke rather well of it, commenting on its directness, its simplicity and its kindliness. Foremost among these was the *New York Tribune*.

It is marked by no feeble expression. "He who runs may read" it; and to twenty millions of people it will carry tidings, good or not, as the case may be, that the federal Government of the United States is still in existence, with a Man at the head of it.

The *Boston Transcript* also gave to the address some guarded words of commendation:

The style of the address is as characteristic as its temper. It has not one fawning expression in the whole course of its firm and explicit statements. The language is level to the popular mind—the plain, homespun language of a man accustomed to talk with “the folks” and “the neighbors”; the language of a man of vital common-sense, whose words exactly fit his facts and thoughts.

The *New York Herald* made the following comment:

It would have been almost as instructive if President Lincoln had contented himself with telling his audience yesterday a funny story and letting them go. . . . The inaugural is not a crude performance; it abounds in traits of craft and cunning. It bears marks of indecision, and yet of strong coercion proclivities, with serious doubt whether the government will be able to gratify them. It is neither candid nor statesmanlike, nor does it possess any essential of dignity or patriotism. It would have caused a Washington to mourn, and would have inspired Jefferson, Madison, or Jackson with contempt. . . . With regard to the ultimate projects of Mr. Lincoln, the public is no wiser than before. It is sincerely to be trusted that he is not ignorant of them himself.

The same newspaper a few days previous had quoted the inaugural of Jefferson Davis with interest and appreciation. It did not in so many words commend the subject-matter of that address, portions of which Davis himself afterward virtually apologized for, but said that it was “an address that indicates the man of experience, and a cultivated mind of high order.”

In the evening occurred that dreary event, the inauguration ball. Mr. Lincoln now and then attended a formal ball at Springfield, where he enjoyed sitting with the men and telling stories while other people danced. Mrs. Lincoln enjoyed those occasions, and looked forward to the inauguration ball as a great event in her life. High society in Washington looked in at the ball and reckoned the number of the missing; the tawdry ball-room was not more than half full, and those who constituted the



LINCOLN AND HIS SECRETARIES
John G. Nicolay and John Hay

attendants were many of them of the lesser luminaries of Washington society. But Mrs. Lincoln did not miss anybody. She was attired in a new blue gown, and wore a large blue feather in her hair. It was her coming-out party, and she made the most of her opportunity. If there were those present who thought her dress unbecoming, she happily was unaware of the fact. Whatever joy she had in the occasion she richly deserved, for she had done her full share toward making Abraham Lincoln president of the United States. Sorrows enough were in store for her; it would be gratifying if we could know that that event brought her unclouded joy. As for her husband, he looked tired out and ill at ease. In one respect, however, he was above criticism; he wore a pair of new white kid gloves, and in them his hands seemed larger and more clumsy than ever.

Henry Adams, in pursuit of that education which he was never to acquire, but still in the earlier stages of the discovery that all was vanity, attended the inaugural ball, being then a young man and his father's private secretary. Of Washington in general and of Lincoln in particular he wrote:

The mass of ignorance in Washington was lighted up by no ray of knowledge. Society, from top to bottom, broke down. From this law there was no exception, unless, perhaps that of old General Winfield Scott, who happened to be the only military figure that looked equal to the crisis. No one else either looked it, or was it, or could be it, by nature or training. Had young Adams been told that his life was to hang on the correctness of his estimate of the new President, he would have been lost. He saw Mr. Lincoln but once; at the melancholy function called an Inaugural Ball. Of course he looked anxiously for a sign of character. He saw a long, awkward figure; a plain, plowed face; a mind, absent in part, and in part evidently worried by white kid gloves; features that expressed neither self-satisfaction, nor any other familiar Americanism, but rather the same painful sense of being educated and of needing education that tormented a private secretary; above all a lack of apparent force. Any private secretary in the least fit for his business would have thought, as Adams did, that no man living needed

so much education as the new President, but that all the education he could get would not be enough.*

His father, Honorable Charles Francis Adams, would have agreed with this estimate of the character and ability of Lincoln. Speaking in 1873 before the two Houses of the Legislature of New York in honor of William H. Seward, then deceased, Adams said:

Let me not be understood as desiring to say a word in a spirit of derogation from the memory of Abraham Lincoln. He afterward proved himself before the world a pure, brave, capable and honest man, faithful to his arduous task, and laying down his life at the last for his country's safety. At the same time, it is the duty of history, in dealing with all human actions, to do strict justice in discriminating between persons, and by no means to award to one honors that clearly belong to another. I must then affirm, without hesitation that, in the history of our Government down to this hour, no experiment so rash has ever been made as that of elevating to the head of affairs a man with so little previous preparation for his task as Mr. Lincoln.†

Mrs. Lincoln returned from the inauguration ball to the White House, tired but triumphant. If notable people had been absent, she had not known Washington well enough to miss them. Many pleasing attentions had been shown to her, and she enjoyed her social success. No one at this day can wish her other than the full of such satisfaction as the occasion brought to her, or be sorry for even that lack of knowledge which mercifully veiled from her eyes some part of the hollowness of the event. Her husband, relieved that the affair was over, drew off his tight white kid gloves, hung up his new swallow-tail coat, and looked around to discover whether the White House possessed a boot-jack, and a place where a very weary man could secure a few hours of sleep.

**The Education of Henry Adams*, pp. 106-7.

†*The Life and Character of William Henry Seward*, pp. 48-9.

CHAPTER II

THE CABINET

ON THE night of November 6, 1860, Abraham Lincoln sat up and waited for the election returns. By two o'clock on the following morning it was certain that he was elected. He then went to bed, but did not sleep. He later told Gideon Welles that as he lay awake that night he constructed the framework of his Cabinet. In the days that followed, he asked advice from many people, and he seemed to make many changes; he himself was in some measure of uncertainty concerning a number of the members; but when he announced his nominations on the day following his inauguration, the men he named were the same ones whom he had tentatively selected on that wakeful night.

This was an achievement both more and less difficult than at first it might appear. Lincoln had long known that he was practically certain to be elected, and he must have given much thought to the selection of his ministers. Furthermore, some promises had been made prior to his nomination, and while he had sent word to his friends in the convention that he would not be bound by such promises, he knew that it was altogether expedient for him to make them good. Still further, he knew the incongruous elements which had gone into the making of the Republican Party, and which were expecting representation in the Cabinet. Hence, although some measure of uncertainty existed almost to the hour of the inauguration, and there was danger that the slate would be broken, and perhaps at the top, Lincoln thought through the problem as he lay in his bed in

Springfield, his conclusions of that night were essentially the conclusions that remained after all the uncertainty and questioning.

In no single instance were Lincoln's selections determined by what might have been called his personal preferences. Not one of the seven men chosen could have been called his near friend; nor is there any reason to believe that he ever asked himself who were the men who were likely to be personally congenial. The considerations that appear to have influenced him were, first an honest attempt to secure the best available men; secondly, an effort to harmonize the various and discordant elements in the Republican Party; and thirdly, a desire to see that different sections of the country were represented.

The first conspicuous fact about Lincoln's Cabinet was the number of selections he made from among those men who had been his rivals in the convention. On the first ballot, twelve men received votes for the presidential nomination: William H. Seward, Abraham Lincoln, Simon Cameron, Salmon P. Chase, Edward Bates, William L. Dayton, John McLean, Jacob Collamer, Benjamin F. Wade, Charles Sumner, John C. Frémont and John M. Reed. The votes for Frémont were a sentimental reminder of 1856, and had no real significance. Charles Sumner and Benjamin F. Wade were not candidates, but were outstanding leaders certain to receive recognition before the real voting began. Most of the others were "favorite sons" whose states desired to give them a complimentary vote, but had no expectation of gaining for them any considerable following. Lincoln chose as members of his Cabinet practically all the candidates who were seriously considered in the convention.

Seward and Chase and Bates and Cameron would appear to have been Lincoln's first selections. The mutual hostility of the Seward and Chase elements in the party made Lincoln slow in offering a place to the latter, and Cameron's foes in Pennsylvania so nearly equaled in number those of his friends that Lincoln regretted that he was practically committed to Cameron,

but these three men stood foremost in Lincoln's list. As for Edward Bates, he had been Greeley's candidate, and was a competent and reliable man; but the fight in Missouri practically compelled Lincoln to find an additional man from that state, and he was not wholly sorry to select two members from slave-holding soil.

It was no new thing in American politics for a president to head his Cabinet with his principal rival within his own party. Indeed, there was a rather long and interesting line of established precedents for such a course. James Madison had appointed as secretary of state his opponent, James Monroe; Monroe passed on the compliment to his rival, John Quincy Adams, and profited ever afterward by having Adams' policy christened with his own name, the Monroe Doctrine. John Quincy Adams in his turn appointed Henry Clay, and William Henry Harrison would have continued him in that office, but Clay, who is alleged to have said that he would rather be right than be president, could have said with even more of truthfulness that he would rather be president than forever to be secretary of state to the men who defeated him. James K. Polk appointed James Buchanan, and Buchanan appointed General Lewis Cass. But no president had ever made up the bone and sinew of his Cabinet of men each of whom believed that he ought to have been seated in the presidential chair instead of the man who was there. And further, of no previous president had it seemed possible to say with so much of confidence what could be said, and was said, of the superior fitness of these several men to that of the president himself.

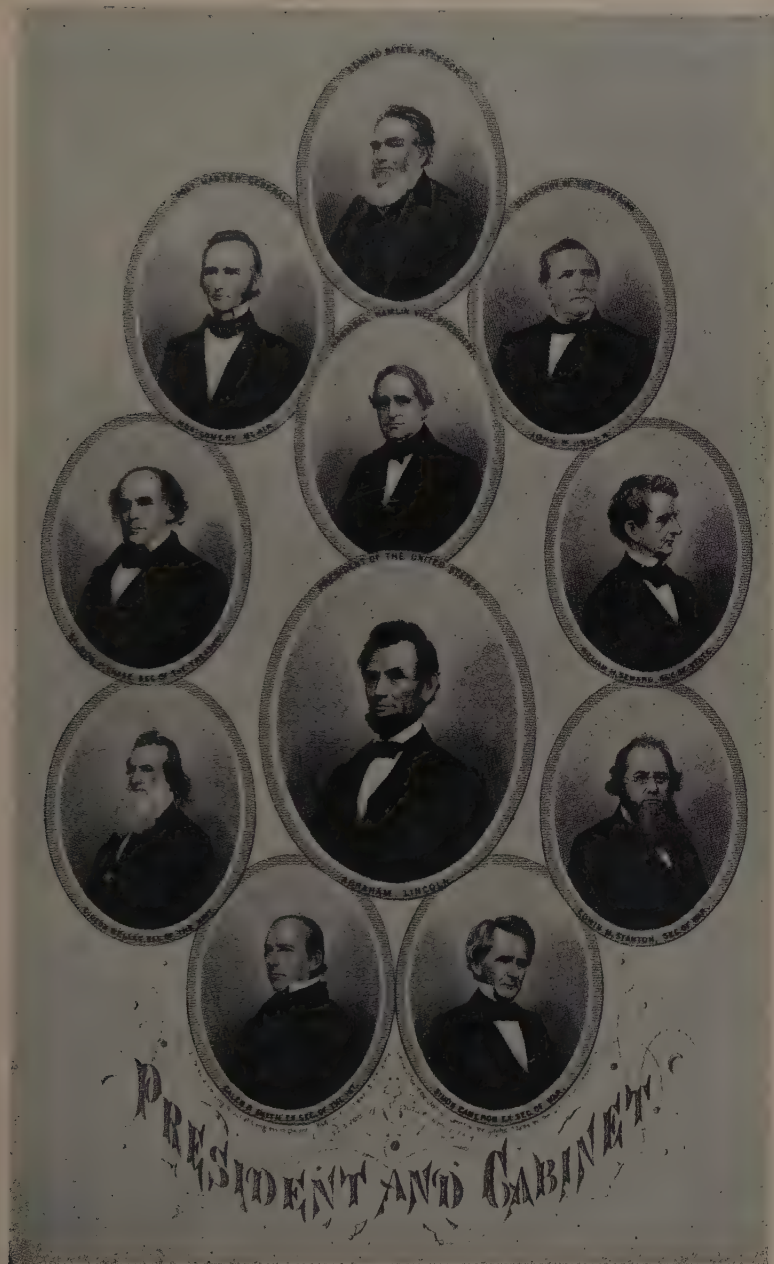
Furthermore, of Lincoln's Cabinet, four were chosen from that faction of the new party that either had been Democratic or were supposed to represent that wing of the combination. Whigs, Anti-slavery Democrats, Free-soilers, Know-Nothings and abolitionists, Lincoln had to think of them all in making up his Cabinet. In the judgment of many, he thought too much of the Democrats, for Lincoln himself had been nothing if not a

Whig. Chase, Cameron, Welles and Blair all represented the Democratic wing of the new party—a majority of four against three. To those who reminded him of this fact, Lincoln said, “You seem to forget that I am to be there.” They did seem to forget that fact; but it was a fact not to be forgotten.

These were the seven men whom Lincoln nominated, and who constituted his first Cabinet: William H. Seward, of New York, Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Edward Bates, of Missouri, Attorney General; and Montgomery Blair, of Missouri, Postmaster-General.

Not a few of Lincoln’s advisers were startled by his selections. They believed that such a Cabinet was certain to lack harmony. There was good ground for this fear. More than one of these men accepted Mr. Lincoln as a political accident, and regarded the election as a mistake to be corrected in 1864. At least one of them began immediately to lay his plans to serve the country as its president as soon as Mr. Lincoln should have completed his one and only term.

These facts were not unknown to Lincoln. If ever a president rose above petty fear of suffering by reason of his appearance among strong men, it was Abraham Lincoln. He held that the times were too grave for considerations of personal vanity. He knew that each one of these men enjoyed the confidence of an important element in the party which had elected him, and that each one had important relations to a particular section or group, and that each one strengthened the Cabinet and would strengthen the administration. Moreover, he recognized the ability of these men, and earnestly desired to compensate for his own limitations by the utilization of their strong qualities. Not always has an American president chosen for his Cabinet men whom he knew to be so likely to oppose him. Abraham Lincoln was himself so magnanimous a man that he believed he could trust his associates to be magnanimous. The experiment was a trying one, but it was successful.



LINCOLN AND HIS CABINET
From a contemporary steel engraving

It will be well for the reader to be introduced to the seven men who constituted Lincoln's first Cabinet.

On the day that the Republican Convention assembled in Chicago, William H. Seward was fifty-nine years old. What celebration of the event occurred on that day within his own family is not known; the real celebration was set for the second day thereafter. For Seward had no doubt what was to be his birthday present. Upon his lawn assembled a large company of his neighbors and political friends, awaiting the happy moment when they might congratulate him on his nomination as president. A cannon, loaded, stood at the gate, ready to announce the nomination of William H. Seward.

On that day, William H. Seward mingled with his guests, hospitable, friendly, confident, appreciative. He recognized the honor that was presently to come to him as an honor that was his due. For thirty years he had been in politics, and he was regarded as one of the finest types of American manhood in political life. To be sure, he was short in stature, and his gestures were not graceful, and his scholarship was versatile rather than profound, but he was a man of character, ability, learning and culture. Although he sometimes used an oath in a moment of exasperation, so that Lincoln could ask another man, "Are you an Episcopalian? You swear like Seward," he was a truly religious man, and a man who for righteousness' sake was capable of suffering. He had labored long and arduously for the creation of the Republican Party. He had brought to its organization his prestige as having been twice governor of New York and the still further honor of a distinguished career in the United States Senate. He combined dignity with urbanity, and learning with a practical knowledge of the leadership of men.

As for his nomination, who could doubt that that was to come to him for the asking? His affairs were in the hands of Thurlow Weed, the most adroit politician in New York State, and with an organized force that left little doubt of the result. So the cannon stood, loaded, and ready to fire as soon as the news should come of Seward's nomination.

The first ballot showed him strongly in the lead. The second followed, and Seward was still leading, though he had gained but little and Abraham Lincoln's vote had risen alarmingly. "I shall be nominated on the next ballot," said Mr. Seward smilingly. So it would have appeared; for he had 184½ votes, Lincoln 181, and the 99½ scattering votes would seek a permanent alignment on the third ballot, and who could doubt where the greater half of them would go?

The third ballot came swiftly, and a telegram showing the result was handed to Seward. He turned ashen pale. Abraham Lincoln had been nominated. Seward was, as he said to his wife, "a leader deposed by my own party in the organization for decisive battle."

Alas for the brazen-throated messenger that had been borrowed and brought to the village of Auburn for that day! The load was drawn unfired; and as the cannon was hauled away, it was as if the funeral of a mighty leader were being celebrated, and his body carried to its burial on a gun-carriage.

There was joy that night in Springfield, Illinois; but there was deep sorrow in Auburn, New York.

Seward's disappointment was hardly greater than that of his followers. Returning delegates, filled with enthusiasm which they had gathered in Chicago, found their constituents very glum. "We sent you to Chicago to nominate a statesman," they said, "and you have given us a railsplitter."*

Many years afterward Richard Grant White wrote in the *North American Review*:

Mr. Seward saw the crown of his life petulantly snatched from him and given to—no matter whom, if not to him—but to one who had done nothing to merit it, and who was so unknown to

*Honorable Addison G. Procter, a native of Massachusetts but a delegate from Kansas, went east after the convention and made a visit to his old home. He was full of enthusiasm when he left Chicago, but his ardor was much dampened as he went eastward. Arriving at his old home at Gloucester he endeavored to work up a ratification meeting, but found no favorable sentiment. The sentence above is quoted from answers made to him.

a majority of his countryment, that his identity had to be explained to them.*

Charles Francis Adams, in his address on Seward before the New York Legislature, said:

The veteran champion of the reforming policy was set aside in favor of a gentleman as little known by anything he had ever done as the most sanguine friend of such a selection could desire. The fact is beyond contradiction that no person, ever so nominated with any reasonable probability of success, had had so little of public service to show for his reward.

The Republican Central Committee of New York wrote to Seward on the day following the nomination of Lincoln:

The result of the Chicago Convention has been more than a surprise to the Republicans of New York. That you who have been the earliest defender of Republican principles—the acknowledged head and leader of the party, who have given directions to its movements and form and substance to its acts—that you should have been put aside on the narrow ground of expediency, we can hardly realize or believe. Whatever the decision of this, or a hundred other conventions, we recognize in you the real leader of the Republican party.

Lincoln recognized that Seward had a standing in the party and the nation which he himself did not possess. Lincoln never forgot that he had been nominated by a convention two-thirds of whose members preferred other candidates. Lincoln knew that but for Seward's break with Horace Greeley, and Greeley's quarrel with Thurlow Weed, Lincoln would not have been nominated.

It deserves to be recorded to the everlasting honor of William H. Seward, that his loyalty in that crisis gave to the Lincoln nomination its first assurance of the united support of the whole party. Seward's reply to the letter already quoted from the Re-

**North American Review* for 1877, page 226.

publican Central Committee of his own state, contained a hearty endorsement of the platform and a loyal support to the candidate. Seward said:

I find in the resolutions of the convention a platform as satisfactory to me as if it had been framed with my own hands; and in the candidates adopted by it, eminent and able Republicans with whom I have cordially cooperated in maintaining the principles embodied in that excellent creed.

Seward then took the stump on behalf of Lincoln. His addresses contained no half-hearted platitudes. His support was unqualified. He did not damn his successful rival with faint praise. He gave to Lincoln and the party his good faith and his utmost effort.

After the election, Seward was in Washington and Lincoln was in Springfield. Lincoln was maintaining his policy of dignified silence. The *Illinois State Journal* expressed his opinions now and then through an editorial which he had approved or possibly written. Orville H. Browning or Lyman Trumbull or Elihu B. Washburne now and then spoke a word which was understood to be authoritative. But William H. Seward was really the accredited voice of the incoming administration. As one of the senators from New York, and a man most prominent in the leadership of the Republican Party and one certain to be the leading member of the new Cabinet, he spoke for the Republican Party as no other man could speak. In the whole history of American political life no other man has occupied a position quite like that of Seward in the last two months of 1860 and the first two months of 1861. He was, and he knew himself to be, the leader in the Senate of those who stood for loyalty and the hope of a united country. He was not unconscious of his importance. His letters to his wife in this period show how fully he felt himself to be the sole hope of the new administration and of the nation. When on December 28, 1860, he wrote to her telling her that he had accepted Lincoln's invitation to be secre-

tary of state, he added: "It is inevitable. I will try to save freedom in my country."

In other letters he said:

I have assumed a sort of dictatorship for defense, and am laboring day and night with the cities and States.

I am trying to get home; but as yet I see no chance. It seems to me that if I am absent only three days, this administration, the Congress, and the District would fall into consternation and despair. I am the only hopeful, calm, conciliatory person here.

These read like boastful words, but they were very nearly true. There were not many men in Washington at that time who were hopeful, calm and conciliatory, and among those who had that temperament and conviction there was no other who could speak for the administration as Seward was believed to speak. A few days after the inauguration Seward wrote again, giving his wife his feeling in accepting the secretaryship:

The President is determined that he will have a compound Cabinet; and that it shall be peaceful and even permanent. I was at one time on the point of refusing—nay, I did refuse, for a time, to hazard myself in the experiment. But a distracted country appeared before me; and I withdrew from that position. I believe I can endure as much as any one; and it may be that I can endure enough to make the experiment successful.

It is certain that Mr. Seward overrated himself, and yet more certain that he underrated Mr. Lincoln, but it must not be forgotten that at this time Mr. Lincoln was in Springfield and the man in the White House was an impotent and senile temporizer, and it was of incalculable worth to the nation to have a man of Seward's undoubted strength in Washington and in a position where he could speak strong but conciliatory words.

If ever a president had reason to anticipate uncomfortable experiences in choosing as his chief adviser a man who believed himself, and was believed to be superior in education, wisdom,

experience and political sagacity to the president, that president was Abraham Lincoln. His motive in selecting Seward is deserving of all praise. On the other hand, it should be remembered that Seward in accepting the position understood fully that he was preparing for himself very much of discomfort and anxiety. It was not the president alone in association with whom Seward anticipated unhappiness; he was bitterly opposed to Salmon P. Chase, and both he and Chase believed that if either one was selected for a place in the Cabinet, the other would not be chosen.

The American secretary of state is not an English prime minister. That officer in England forms the Cabinet and defines the policy of the administration. Seward was compelled to realize, and that very quickly, that he had no such power. Three of the Cabinet members were men to whom he was bitterly hostile. Nevertheless, Seward accepted his uncomfortable honor.

He began his duties as secretary of state with unabated confidence that the salvation of the nation depended upon his wisdom. He did not fail to let the president know how much greater man he was than he believed the president to be. On April 1, 1861, he handed the president a letter whose content was well in keeping with the character of the author:

SOME THOUGHTS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S CONSIDERATION,
APRIL 1, 1861

First. We are at the end of a month's administration, and yet without a policy, either domestic or foreign.

Second. This, however, is not culpable, and it has even been unavoidable. The presence of the Senate, with the need to meet applications for patronage, have prevented attention to other and more grave matters.

Third. But further delay to adopt and prosecute our policies for both domestic and foreign affairs would not only bring scandal on the administration, but danger upon the country.

Fourth. To do this we must dismiss the applicants for office. But how? I suggest that we make the local appointments forth-

with, leaving foreign or general ones for ulterior and occasional action.

Fifth. The policy at home. I am aware that my views are singular, and perhaps not sufficiently explained. My system is built upon this idea as a ruling one, namely, that we must

CHANGE THE QUESTION BEFORE THE PUBLIC FROM ONE UPON SLAVERY, OR ABOUT SLAVERY, for a question upon UNION OR DIS-UNION :

In other words, from what would be regarded as a party question, to one of patriotism or union.

The occupation or evacuation of Fort Sumter, although not in fact a slavery or a party question, is so regarded. Witness the temper manifested by the Republicans in the free States, and even by the Union men in the South.

I would therefore terminate it as a safe means for changing the issue. I deem it fortunate that the last administration created the necessity.

For the rest, I would simultaneously defend and re-enforce all the ports in the Gulf, and have the navy recalled from foreign stations to be prepared for a blockade. Put the island of Key West under martial law.

This will raise distinctly the question of union or disunion. I would maintain every fort and possession in the South.

FOR FOREIGN NATIONS

I would demand explanations from Spain and France, categorically, at once.

I would seek explanations from Great Britain and Russia, and send agents into Canada, Mexico, and Central America to rouse a vigorous continental spirit of independence on this continent against European intervention.

And, if satisfactory explanations are not received from Spain and France,

Would convene Congress and declare war against them.

But whatever policy we adopt, there must be an energetic prosecution of it.

For this purpose it must be somebody's business to pursue and direct it incessantly.

Either the President must do it himself, and be all the while active in it, or

Devolve it on some member of his cabinet. Once adopted, debates on it must end, and all agree and abide.

It is not in my especial province;

But I neither seek to evade nor assume responsibility.

To this amazing letter, Lincoln replied:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 1, 1861

Hon. W. H. Seward.

My dear sir: Since parting with you, I have been considering your paper dated this day, and entitled "Some Thoughts for the President's Consideration." The first proposition in it is, "*First*, We are at the end of a month's administration, and yet without a policy, either domestic or foreign."

At the beginning of that month, in the inaugural, I said: "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts." This had your distinct approval at the time; and taken in connection with the order I immediately gave General Scott, directing him to employ every means in his power to strengthen and hold the forts, comprises the exact domestic policy you now urge, with the single exception that it does not propose to abandon Fort Sumter.

Again, I do not perceive how the re-enforcement of Fort Sumter would be done on a slavery or a party issue, while that of Fort Pickens would be on a more national and patriotic one.

The news received yesterday in regard to St. Domingo certainly brings a new item within the range of our foreign policy; but up to that time we have been preparing circulars and instructions to ministers and the like, all in perfect harmony, without even a suggestion that we had no foreign policy.

Upon your closing proposition—that "whatever policy we adopt, there must be an energetic prosecution of it.

"For this purpose it must be somebody's business to pursue and direct it incessantly.

"Either the President must do it himself, and be all the while active in it, or.

"Devolve it on some member of his cabinet. Once adopted, debates on it must end, and all agree and abide"—I remark that if this must be done, I must do it. When a general line of policy is adopted, I apprehend there is no danger of its being changed

without good reason, or continuing to be a subject of unnecessary debate; still, upon points arising in its progress I wish, and suppose I am entitled to have, the advice of all the cabinet.

Your obedient servant,
A. Lincoln.

Seward's letter was not more remarkable for its incivility to the president than it was for its bad statesmanship. It proposed a course of action on the part of the United States Government which would surely have involved us in war with one or more European nations. After its discourtesy toward President Lincoln, the most notable fact was its calm assumption of superiority. Lincoln showed in this trying situation a promptness of action, a firmness of decision and a fine magnanimity which must ever redound to his honor. He answered the letter on the very day on which it was received. He calmly and definitively informed his subordinate that he himself was, and intended to be, the president; and then he pocketed Mr. Seward's communication and told of it to no one.

The finest traits in Lincoln's character were his integrity and his magnanimity. Not until Lincoln and Seward were both dead, and many years had passed, did the world know of this correspondence.

The other members of the Cabinet criticized Seward's curiosity concerning their departments, and his reticence about his own. Secretary Welles records, about October 1, 1861, an incident in which the president and members of the Cabinet, meeting Generals Scott and McClellan in the office of the general, undertook to learn about forces in and about Washington, but Scott could not, and McClellan did not, tell. But Seward produced a slip of paper from which he read a list of the several commands, and McClellan, in answer to a question, said that the information given by Seward was essentially correct. General Scott was highly displeased. Said he:

This is a remarkable state of things. I am in command of

the armies of the United States, but have been wholly unable to get any reports, any statement of the actual forces; but here is the Secretary of State, a civilian, for whom I have great respect, but who is not a military man, nor conversant with military affairs, and this civilian is possessed of facts which are withheld from me!*

Seward was a thorn in Lincoln's flesh during the early months of his administration. But Lincoln proved to be the master of the situation, and Seward came to recognize that fact. The greatness of Lincoln made a greater man of Seward, and his wisdom became one of the valuable assets of Lincoln's administration. A president less great than Lincoln would have lost the valuable counsel of his able and loyal secretary of state. The relation which began unhappily on both sides, grew into one of intimate and happy companionship.

For secretary of treasury Lincoln chose Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio. Chase, although of Democratic antecedents, was an outstanding abolitionist. His had been the determining influence in the Free-soil convention at Buffalo in 1848, whose platform he wrote. As governor of the state of Ohio he had stood nobly for the furtherance of the cause of freedom. In the United States Senate he and Charles Sumner had opposed Douglas's scheme for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. He had been attorney for the slave in practically every notable case that was litigated in the Ohio courts, and, like Lincoln, he had argued at least one of his cases on the ground of the Ordinance of 1787.

It has come to be popular to treat Chase as the Judas of Lincoln's administration.† Chase's distrust and ambition during the whole of Lincoln's first term is well known. In John Hay's

**Diary of Gideon Welles*, i, p. 241.

†It is well known that in John Drinkwater's play, *Abraham Lincoln*, the character Burnet Hook, while not intended literally to follow the course of Chase's opposition to Lincoln's plans, was drawn with Chase rather definitely in mind. I asked Mr. Drinkwater, "In your character of Burnet Hook were you thinking of Salmon P. Chase?" and he answered, "More or less; I think so; yes."

diary, printed but not published, is the following entry which shows how nobly Lincoln met such embarrassment as he suffered at the hands of Chase:

October 18, 1863.

On presenting myself to the President this morning, I gave him my impression of the conduct of Mr. Chase, in trying to get under in the way he was doing, instancing what D— of New York had related. He said, "It was very bad taste, but that he had determined to shut his eyes to all these performances; that Chase made a good Secretary, and that he would keep him where he is:— if he becomes President, all right! I hope we may never have a worse man. I have all along clearly seen his plan of strengthening himself. Whenever he sees that an important matter is troubling me, if I am compelled to decide it any way to give offense to a man of some influence, he always ranges himself in opposition to me, and persuades the victim that he, Chase, would have arranged it very differently. . . . I am entirely indifferent as to his failure or success in these schemes so long as he does his duty as the head of the Treasury Department."*

Lincoln was tall, gaunt and awkward. Seward was short of stature and not graceful in his movements. Salmon P. Chase was tall and of commanding appearance. He had a head almost as massive and imposing as that of Daniel Webster. He was gifted, beyond any leader in the Republican Party, as the authority of party platforms and political proclamations. He was not a popular orator, but had marked gifts as a reasoner. His appeal was to sound judgment and clear thinking. He had a good college education, and was the master of three modern languages. He had excellent legal training, and beside all this he had sacrificial devotion to the cause of freedom. He had been the un-

*Copies of this diary are in the Library of Congress and the Library of the Chicago Historical Society, and have been used by me. Proper names are omitted, initials only being used. Henry Adams made a key of which these libraries have copies, and its use is permitted guardedly. The Massachusetts Historical Society has an even more precious document, a photostatic copy of the original of Hay's Diary, which was made for Thayer's *Life of John Hay*. Its use is allowed only by special permission, which permission I gratefully acknowledge.

compromising foe of slavery, long before Lincoln had uttered himself plainly on that subject.

It was inevitable that Chase should believe himself, not only the superior of Lincoln, but also the superior of Seward. He did not covet a place in the Cabinet, but, if he had any place, he never doubted but that he should have been secretary of state. It grieved and humiliated him when Lincoln sent for him and asked if he would accept the position of secretary of the treasury, but added that Lincoln, while making this inquiry, was not yet ready to offer him the position. Chase knew the reason for Lincoln's hesitation. Lincoln told him plainly that he had already offered the position of secretary of state to Seward. Plainly, Lincoln did not intend to make Chase secretary of the treasury if by so doing he was to lose Seward as secretary of state. Chase said frankly that if Lincoln offered him any place in the Cabinet, it should have been the first place, and that if Lincoln offered him any other position, it should, at least, have come as promptly and unreservedly, as Lincoln's offer to Seward. Humiliated, and resentful, Chase accepted the subordinate position. But not for one moment did he suppose that he was other than the chief figure in the administration.

What Chase thought of Lincoln may be inferred from a record which he made in his diary after he had been in the Cabinet for a year and a half. Chase asked Major General David Hunter his opinion of Lincoln. It was something which he ought not to have done, but he did it and he recorded the answer in his diary with manifest marks of approval. This is the description of Lincoln which General Hunter gave, and which Chase recorded with evident agreement:

A man irresolute, but of honest intentions; born a poor white in a slave state, and, of course, among aristocrats; kind in spirit and not envious, and anxious for approval, especially of those to whom he has been accustomed to look up—hence solicitous of support of the slave owners in the border states, and unwilling to offend them; without the large mind necessary to grasp great

questions, uncertain of himself, and in many things ready to lean too much on others.

Chase could have forgiven Lincoln for his weakness in leaning on others, if Chase himself had more frequently been the man on whom Lincoln leaned.

While Lincoln's deference to Seward made him cautious about too much reliance upon Chase, and Chase's own temperament offered its further bar to intimacy, there was a very real sense in which Lincoln's reliance upon Chase was great. Chase was not primarily a financier, but he was conscientious and thorough, and he mastered the work of his office in a way that made him indispensable to the country. Any war of considerable length and importance depreciates the currency of a country, and causes the disappearance of silver and gold coin. Gold, which became abundant after the discovery of the rich deposits in California, disappeared from circulation in 1861, and there came a time when it required \$2.85½ in paper money to buy one dollar in gold. Silver also went into hiding. The silver quarters, dimes, half-dimes and three cent pieces, which had been abundant, disappeared from circulation. Change had to be made in postage stamps. As these were certain to stick together when carried in the pocket, ungummed stamps were issued to be used as a circulating medium. These in time gave place to the "shin-plasters," paper money on sheets measuring two to three inches, and issued in denominations of five, ten, twenty-five and fifty cents. Later there issued three cent and fifteen cent "shin-plasters." These solved for many years the problem of fractional currency. But there was need for something other than this, that of national bank notes to supply the demand for a medium of exchange in larger units. Salmon P. Chase became "the father of the greenback," a direct promise to pay on the part of the United States, and a legal tender except for duties and taxes to the United States Government, which still had to be paid in coin.

In a very important sense the greenback saved the country.

Although Chase was not primarily a financier, he was a man of recognized ability and of undoubted integrity. The moneyed interests of the country believed in him. While his presence in the Cabinet gave much discomfort to some of his associates and to Abraham Lincoln, Chase grew to be an invaluable man.

Seward and Chase were easily the leaders in Lincoln's Cabinet as it was first organized. Subsequently, they were compelled to share their responsibility with the new secretary of war, Edwin M. Stanton, who comes later into this narrative. The remaining members of the original Cabinet call for less extended consideration.

Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, was thrust upon Lincoln's administration by the support of the Pennsylvania delegation which secured Lincoln's nomination in Chicago in 1860. Cameron accepted the position of secretary of war, and his appointment proved acceptable to his political friends. Cameron is believed to have been personally honest, but some of his friends were not so; and he was in bad repute with a large section of his own party in his own state. Lincoln did not retain him long. Cameron was furnished with a post sufficiently far beyond the ocean to remove him from overmastering temptation to serve his friends in the matter of fat army contracts.

Besides Seward, Chase and Cameron, a fourth member of Lincoln's Cabinet had been his opponent in the Chicago convention. Edward Bates, whom Lincoln appointed attorney general, was a fine, dignified, gentlemanly and scholarly lawyer of the old school. In 1847 he had presided over the River and Harbor Convention in Chicago. There Lincoln first met him, and there Greeley also first came to know him. Bates was Greeley's first choice as a compromise candidate for the presidency against Seward, and he believed that Bates' residence in Missouri would make him strong in the border states. Though a former rival of Lincoln, Bates proved a loyal member of the Cabinet and an efficient supporter of Lincoln's administration.

For secretary of the navy, Lincoln appointed Gideon Welles, a leading editor of New England. Though inexperienced in naval matters, he conducted his department with no little ability. He was one of Lincoln's most loyal supporters, as subsequently he was a staunch defender of Andrew Johnson.

The diary of Gideon Welles is the most intimate document we possess in the inner workings of the government in Lincoln's administration, and shows us plainly the antagonisms which existed in the Cabinet and near it. Welles himself had his own very marked prejudices. He was a Democrat, and had no love for Seward. Stephen A. Douglas distrusted Seward, and communicated his added distrust to Welles in the short period in which Douglas was in Washington after the beginning of Lincoln's administration. Welles came to cherish a deep hostility toward Stanton, and he hated General Halleck, but his pet aversion was Senator John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, chairman of the Senate Committee on the Navy. Welles found that the War Department was inclined to think the Navy Department little more than a subordinate branch of its own sphere of influence, and one to be ignored or denounced as occasion might seem to justify.

Caleb B. Smith, whom Lincoln appointed secretary of the interior, was a prominent Indiana politician. Lincoln had known him since they had served together in Congress in 1847 and 1848. He was a fair representative of the sentiment of Indiana, and, while one of the less conspicuous members of the Cabinet, was a faithful one.

Montgomery Blair, who accepted the office of postmaster general, represented a famous Missouri family. His father, Francis P. Blair, Sr., had been a prominent editor during Jackson's administration, and was one of the ablest men associated with Jackson. He was a friend of Martin Van Buren and Thomas Hart Benton. He was a strong opponent of slavery, and a fear-

less man. His wise counsels and his trenchant pen had done much in building up the party which had now come to power. His two sons, Montgomery and Francis P., Jr., had opposed the Dred Scott decision, and had done much to hold Missouri in the Union. While the Blair family was cordially hated by one faction in Missouri, it had the unfaltering loyalty of another and influential faction. Lincoln strengthened his Cabinet by the inclusion in it of a member of this distinguished family, but did not promote the Cabinet's comfort thereby.

Such was the official family which Abraham Lincoln gathered around him at the beginning of his administration. It is little wonder that his selections caused his friends grave solicitude. If Chase accepted with bad grace a position subordinate to Seward, Seward's friends with equally bad grace insisted that Chase should have had no place whatever in the Cabinet. But Lincoln was able to hold both these men and all the others, through an ability of leadership which, at the outset, few men understood, and which the Cabinet itself came slowly and reluctantly to recognize.

On the night of the inaugural ball, Stephen Fiske, then Washington correspondent of the *New York Herald*, asked Mr. Lincoln if he had any message to send to James Gordon Bennett, editor of that paper. Bennett was frankly antagonistic to Lincoln and his administration. "Yes," answered Lincoln, "you may tell him that Thurlow Weed has found out that Seward was not nominated at Chicago."

Not for some time did the correspondent understand that this was one of Lincoln's jokes. It was a very serious joke; it was Lincoln's declaration that he was master of the situation. Thurlow Weed, who had been endeavoring to crowd Chase out of the Cabinet, and Seward, who had declined a secretaryship on the very eve of the nomination, had both discovered that Weed had not succeeded either in the nomination or in the control of the executive.

While Lincoln suffered from both Seward and Chase, he valued them highly. At one time when they resigned simultaneously, Lincoln very skilfully played each against the other. Remembering his boyhood experiences in carrying loads on horseback, he said, "Now I can ride ahead; I have a pumpkin in each end of my sack."

The late lamented P. T. Barnum had in his menagerie a cage which was the most popular among those who frequented his show, containing a "happy family." It was composed of animals of diverse disposition which had been taught to live together. Lincoln's Cabinet was something after this sort. It was not the ingenuity of the showman that devised Lincoln's "happy family," but the skill of a leader who gathered about him men of ability and character, with little regard for their liking for him or one another, but each of whom he judged to be capable of rendering to the country a service. It was his genius and patience and unselfishness which taught these men to live and work together, not always comfortably, but on the whole effectively.

CHAPTER III

INSIDE THE WHITE HOUSE

IT HAS already been recorded in this narrative that at the close of the inauguration services Mr. Buchanan rode back with the president along Pennsylvania Avenue, saw him safely across the White House threshold, bade him a dignified farewell and took his departure. Other carriages promptly dropped the remaining members of the president's family at the White House door. There stood "Old Edward" who had served as doorkeeper through many administrations. With becoming dignity he opened the door and in walked Abraham Lincoln. Mrs. Lincoln and family followed promptly.

Seventeen persons sat down to dinner in the White House that day, and they were ready for it. An unpublished account of the dinner exists in the handwriting of Mrs. Elizabeth Todd Grimsley, Mrs. Lincoln's cousin. Viewing the arrangements with feminine eye, she pronounced them perfect. Miss Harriet Lane, President Buchanan's niece and housekeeper, had organized a good group of servants, with chef and butler, and the White House was in thorough order. The dinner which Miss Lane had caused to be prepared was all that could have been desired. Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln and the boys and Mrs. Lincoln's relatives and the few personal friends who joined them ate with hearty appetite. Then the party separated, the women scattering to the rooms assigned, and preparing for the inauguration ball. Willie and Tad inspected the house from the top floor to the basement, and within a few hours had interviewed every servant and watchman about the building.

A more careful inspection of the executive mansion by the women of the party revealed the public rooms in good condition, but the family apartments more or less shabby. The furniture was as unattractive as that in the home at Springfield, and lacked the simple comfort which that home had possessed.

It might have been hoped that the few remaining hours of Lincoln's first day in the White House would have been free from the encroachments of office-seekers. But not only the president, but every member of the family, male or female, suffered that intrusion. Every member of the family had visits that afternoon from total strangers, beseeching him or her to use his or her influence with the president on behalf of some applicant for office. Mrs. Grimsley says:

The day was not half spent before the house was full of office-seekers. Halls, corridors, offices and even private apartments were invaded. This throng continued and increased for weeks, intercepting the President on his way to meals; and, strange to say, every tenth man claimed the honor of having raised Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency; until he was fain to exclaim, "Save me from my friends!"

The ladies of the family were not exempt from marked attention and flattery; but they soon had their eyes open to the fact that almost every stranger that approached us "hoped we would use our influence with the President in his behalf." And it was a hard matter to persuade them that they would stand a better chance without interference, we, to quote Mr. Lincoln, having no influence with this administration.*

The family was not long in learning that one of the occupants of the White House was in the employ of the press, and that even their most unguarded actions and utterances were liable to appear in print. What they spoke to each other in the ear was shouted from the housetop; and it was some time before they understood it. A new order of journalism then known as "Jen-

*Mr. H. E. Barker, of Springfield, permits me the use of this very interesting manuscript.

kinism" was in vogue. It dealt with kitchen-gossip and back-door rumor; and its representatives were securely berthed in the White House from the day of Lincoln's arrival.

The first Sunday in the White House the family attended the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, the Reverend Doctor Phineas D. Gurley, pastor, and this continued to be the church home of the president and his family throughout their stay in Washington. Robert returned to Harvard, but Willie and Tad were regular members of the New York Avenue Sunday-school.

Ralph Waldo Emerson believed in the law of compensation as applicable to all human life. "The President pays well for his White House," said the learned sage. Lincoln began to pay high rental from the moment of his occupancy. Brief, indeed, was the period which the Lincoln family and their immediate guests had for the curious and happy inspection of their new home. Andrew Jackson is credited with the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils," but it was accepted as a good political doctrine in Lincoln's time. The changes at the beginning of Lincoln's administration were greater than at the beginning of Jackson's régime.*

The first social clash was between Mrs. Lincoln and Mr. Seward. The latter indicated that he thought it proper for the secretary of state to give the first official reception of the new administration. He failed to reckon with the ambition of Mrs. Lincoln. The first official reception was given on Friday evening, March eighth, at the White House. It was a jam. Long before it was over the president and his official family were weary, and it was a relief when the Marine Band played *Yankee Doodle* as a signal that it was to end.

The first state dinner, given March twenty-eighth, was not a very gay affair. Few of the Cabinet ladies were in Washington. Secretary Seward's home was presided over by his daughter-in-

*Claude G. Bowers says of Jackson's political changes, "There was no such massacre as followed the election of Lincoln." *Party Battles of the Jackson Period*, p. 72.

law; Secretary Chase's brilliant daughter, Kate, afterward the wife of Governor Sprague, of Rhode Island, was not yet in Washington, and some of the other Cabinet members had not yet brought their families. The men were stiff and formal and unused to one another.

The first diplomatic reception was distinctly cold. The foreign legations were not out in full force, nor did they come in a body as their custom had been, nor were they any too cordial. Lord Lyons of England was dignified and distant, and the French minister, Mercier, stayed away altogether.

Washington was in a state of social disintegration. The oldest, proudest families were daily departing; and among those who remained there was an atmosphere of suspicion and uncertainty. No one knew whom to trust. No one knew who next would be missing. Some of Mrs. Lincoln's relatives called for a none too cordial farewell before they left Washington to join the Confederacy. Deserted, misrepresented, and thrust into a situation for which she had no adequate training, it is little wonder that Mrs. Lincoln was not always at her best.

Among the residents of the White House in those early days was John Hay. He kept a diary portions of which have been printed but not published, and in which as printed important names are thinly disguised by the use of initials. His pet names for Lincoln were the "Chief," the "Ancient," the "Tycoon." He describes the president sitting in most undignified attire, loafing and lounging in his hours of ease, and sometimes rising in the night to walk around the offices and hunt up a paper, wearing a costume consisting only of a shirt, or in colder weather of an overcoat slipped on over his shirt. He tells of Lincoln's rising from bed and coming in at night where his secretaries were still sitting up, and reading with great gusto to them an amusing paragraph. His descriptions bear upon their faces the indisputable evidence of accuracy. But while Hay exhibits these intimate snapshots of the president at close range, it is interesting to note how his reverence for Lincoln grew, and his

appreciation of Lincoln's real greatness was unmarred by his sense of the ludicrous in much that Lincoln said and did.

In 1866, Mr. Hay, then a member of the United States Legation in Paris, wrote this account of Lincoln's life in the White House:*

Lincoln went to bed ordinarily from ten to eleven o'clock, unless he happened to be kept up by important news, in which case he would frequently remain at the War Department until one or two. He rose early. When he lived in the country at the Soldiers' Home he would be up and dressed, eat his breakfast (which was extremely frugal, an egg, a piece of toast, coffee, etc.), and ride into Washington, all before eight o'clock. In the winter, at the White House, he was not quite so early. He did not sleep well, but spent a good while in bed. Tad usually slept with him. He would lie around the office until he fell asleep, and Lincoln would shoulder him and take him off to bed. He pretended to begin business at ten o'clock in the morning, but in reality the ante-rooms and halls were full long before that hour—people anxious to get the first axe ground. He was extremely unmethodical; it was a four years struggle on Nicolay's part and mine to get him to adopt some systematic rules. He would break through every regulation as fast as it was made. Anything that kept the people away from him he disapproved, although they nearly annoyed the life out of him by unreasonable complaints and requests. He wrote very few letters and did not read one in fifty that he received. At first we tried to bring them to his notice, but at last he gave the whole thing over to me, and signed, without reading them, the letters I wrote in his name. He wrote perhaps half a dozen a week himself—not more.

Nicolay received Members of Congress and other visitors who had business with the Executive Office, communicated to the Senate and House the messages of the President, and exercised a general supervision over the business. I opened and read the letters, answered them, looked over the newspapers, supervised the clerks who kept the records, and in Nicolay's absence did his work also. When the President had any rather delicate matter to manage at a distance from Washington, he rarely wrote, but

*Herndon's *Lincoln*, iii, pp. 514-517.

sent Nicolay or me. The house remained full of people nearly all day. At noon the President took a little lunch, a biscuit, a glass of milk in winter, some fruit or grapes in summer. He dined between five and six, and we went off to our dinner also. Before dinner was over, members and senators would come back and take up the whole evening. Sometimes, though rarely, he shut himself up and would see no one. Sometimes he would run away to a lecture, or concert, or theater for the sake of a little rest. He was very abstemious, ate less than any man I know. He drank nothing but water, not from principle, but because he did not like wine or spirits. Once, in rather dark days early in the war, a temperance committee came to him and said that the reason we did not win was because our army drank so much whiskey as to bring the curse of the Lord upon them. He said it was rather unfair on the part of the aforesaid curse, as the other side drank more and worse whiskey than ours did. He read very little. He scarcely ever looked into a newspaper unless I called his attention to an article on some special subject. He frequently said, "I know more about it than any of them." It is absurd to call him a modest man. No great man was ever modest. It was his intellectual arrogance and unconscious assumption of superiority that men like Chase and Sumner never could forgive. I believe that Lincoln is well understood by the people; but there is a patent-leather, kid-glove set who know no more of him than an owl does of a comet blazing into his blinking eyes. Their estimates of him are in many cases disgraceful exhibitions of ignorance and prejudice. Their effeminate natures shrink instinctively from the contact of a great reality like Lincoln's character. I consider Lincoln republicanism incarnate, with all its faults and all its virtues. As, in spite of some rudeness, republicanism is the sole hope of a sick world, so Lincoln with all his foibles, is the greatest character since Christ.

A feeling of danger was in the air when Lincoln and his family first became the inhabitants of the White House. General Scott insisted on placing guards about the house, much to Lincoln's dissatisfaction. One night soon after their arrival the whole family except the servants was taken ill. Physicians were hastily summoned, and there was for a time a belief that the president and his family had been poisoned. It proved, how-

ever, that the family had indulged too freely in a dish which they were enjoying for the first time, "Potomac shad."

On May 26, 1861, a funeral was held in the East Room of the White House. Colonel Elmer Ellsworth, who was virtually a resident of Lincoln's household, a young man whom Lincoln had known and loved in Springfield and who had come east on the same train with Lincoln, had fallen a martyr to his rash zeal in hauling down a Confederate flag in Alexandria.

On June third, the White House was draped in mourning for the second time in three months. This was for the death of Stephen A. Douglas. He had been Lincoln's rival in politics for years, and also in early days his rival in love, but the two men entertained a genuine respect for each other. Douglas was believed to have brought on his last illness by his overwork in his endeavor to hold his former associates in the Democratic Party to loyalty for the Union. He had gone west on a speaking campaign and Lincoln trusted his good faith and regarded him with genuine personal affection. Lincoln had supplanted him in love and in politics, and Douglas had risen above all petty considerations to support Lincoln and the Union. Lincoln regarded his death as a deep personal sorrow, and draped the White House in his memory.

The death of Colonel Edward D. Baker, at the Battle of Ball's Bluff, October twenty-first, was felt at the White House as another intimate and personal sorrow.

Not many days after the Lincoln family had established itself in the White House, Lincoln gathered at breakfast a group of his old Illinois friends, including Judge David Davis, Colonel Lamon, Major Wallace and other friends. Mrs. Grimsley recorded an incident of this breakfast which is worth preserving as a side-light on the relations of Abraham Lincoln and his wife. One of the lawyers told of a hotel at Tremont, in Tazewell County, where the lawyers were accustomed to stop during court week, whose landlady was particularly partial to Lincoln and to Major Stuart. Stuart was a handsome man in comfortable flesh,

and Lincoln, then, as always, shrunken and cadaverous. The landlady said, "Mr. Stuart, how fine and pert you do look! But Mr. Lincoln, whatever have you been doing? You do look powerful weak." Lincoln mournfully replied, "Nothing out of the common, ma'am, but did you ever see Stuart's wife, or did you ever see mine? Whoever marries into the Todd family gets the worst of it."

Major Wallace also had married into the Todd family, being a brother-in-law of Lincoln, and was the only portly man at the table. This story, told in the presence of Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln, and of Mrs. Grimsley who was also a Todd, brought on a general and merry discussion of the alleged domestic sorrows of the men who had married into the Todd family, all of whom as it appeared were none the worse but rather the better for it.

The significance of a trivial incident such as this, lies in the fact that such a story could be told at the Lincoln table and be enjoyed by both Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln. Their friends could not have indulged in that degree of familiarity if they had not known that it would not give offense.

The elevation of Lincoln to power did not wean him from his old friendships. During the days when he was bearing heavy burdens in the presidential office, it was a joy to him to welcome some old comrade of former days from Illinois. Honorable Isaac N. Arnold, who was in Washington during this period, and a habitual visitor to the White House, thus speaks of Lincoln's attachment to his old friends:

There was something very beautiful and touching in the attachment and fidelity of these his old Illinois comrades to Lincoln. They had all been pioneers, frontiersmen, circuit-riders together. They were never so happy as when talking over old times, and recalling the rough experiences of their early lives. Had they met in Washington in calm and peaceful weather, on sunny days, they would have kept up their party differences as they did at home, but coming together in the midst of the fierce storms of civil war, and in the hour of supreme peril, they stood

together like a band of brothers. Not one of them would see an old comrade in difficulty or danger, and not help him out. The memory of these old Illinois lawyers and statesmen: Baker, McDougall, Trumbull, Lovejoy, Washburne, Browning, and others, recalls a passage in Webster's reply to Hayne. Speaking of Massachusetts and South Carolina, the great New England orator said: "Shoulder to shoulder they went through the Revolution together; hand in hand they stood around the administration of Washington, and felt his own great arm lean on them for support."

So, in the far more difficult administration of Lincoln, these old comrades of his, Baker, McDougall, Trumbull, Browning, Lovejoy, and the others, whatever their former differences, stood shoulder to shoulder, and hand in hand, around the administration of Lincoln; his strong arm leaned on them for support, and that support was given vigorously and with unwavering loyalty.*

The narrative of Mrs. Grimsley records the extreme anxiety of the White House family when battles went against the Union cause. She also states that after the battle of Bull Run General Scott advised the president to take his family to Philadelphia for a few weeks, believing the capital itself to be in danger. Lincoln positively refused to go, but told Mrs. Lincoln of General Scott's advice and suggested that she should go and take the boys. This she emphatically refused to do. If her husband was in peril she would remain with him and share that peril.

The president had occasion to remind his wife's cousin at least once of her need to be cautious on account of her southern relatives. Mrs. Grimsley announced her intention of accompanying a party of friends to Mount Vernon, along the road unguarded against Confederate incursion.

"Mr. Lincoln rose from his chair, looked at me silently an instant, as was his wont, then said gently, as was his habit in speaking to women, 'Cousin Lizzie, have you taken leave of your senses? Can you compute the amount of trouble in which you

*Arnold: *Life of Lincoln*, pp. 240-241.

would involve General Scott and myself if a member of my family should be captured? And the enemy would be only too glad to get you in their clutches, particularly your cousin David Todd, now in charge of the Rebel prison in Richmond.' ”

Lincoln's family knew of the burden which he bore in the matter of men condemned to death. Lincoln gave orders to his doorkeeper that no one who came to intercede on behalf of a condemned person should be turned away until the president had given the matter a personal investigation. He said to his family, “It makes me feel rested after a hard day's work, if I can find some good excuse to save a man's life.”

Lincoln looked with little favor upon the efforts made by innumerable people to secure office by appealing to Mrs. Lincoln or to other occupants of the White House. Colonel H. C. Huidekoper, who was in Harvard during the early part of the war, and who knew Robert Lincoln while a student there, tells of a fight for the Cambridge post-office in which the friends of a particular candidate succeeded in interesting more or less the president's son Robert. At the earnest solicitation of these friends Robert wrote a letter to his father, who replied:

“If you do not attend to your studies and let matters such as you write about alone, I will take you away from college.”

Robert very wisely preserved this letter and made good use of it. When after that any one attempted to secure his influence in favor of any candidate Robert produced the letter and it proved to be an effective protection.

Mrs. Lincoln, also, found occasion to protect herself against the importunity of office-seekers. She instructed the president's secretaries to open her mail as well as that of the president, in order to give her some measure of relief from distressing and often non-meritorious appeals. It is pathetic to remember also another reason why she came to desire her mail to be opened. She wanted the president's secretaries to be able to testify that

she had no secret correspondence, through her relatives or otherwise, with any one in rebellion against her country. The president's secretaries, who had thus thrust upon them the duty of reading Mrs. Lincoln's correspondence, were of those who bore strongest testimony to her loyalty to her husband and the Union.

The editors of the country did not leave Mr. Lincoln lacking in instruction. They wrote long editorials for his guidance, and sent marked copies of the papers to the White House. The president, always deeply interested in public opinion, at first endeavored to read all these editorials. Finding this a physical impossibility, he directed that they should be read and briefed and arranged for his perusal. After about two weeks, however, he discovered that even this was impossible. And he gave up all attempt to keep up with the newspapers except a few of the dailies of different political faiths in the more important cities.

One of the president's perplexities grew out of the demand for appointments of chaplains. Not a few ministers, weary of the more or less monotonous and exacting demands of their parishes, and others who had no pulpits and perhaps did not deserve them, were very eager to look after the spiritual welfare of the soldiers, some of them being especially desirous of being attached to the more or less permanent posts and cantonments. Mr. Stoddard says that Lincoln had very little respect for these "loose-footed ministers." He had very little inclination to disturb himself in the effort to provide office or emolument for these men who were "anxious for the rank and pay of religious majors without the toil and exposure and peril of keeping company with a regiment in the field."

Nevertheless, Lincoln sometimes found himself under the pressure of influential friends on behalf of some of these men. In the case of one such man he sent to Stanton the papers of recommendation endorsed, "Appoint this man chaplain." Stanton returned them with the endorsement, "He is not a preacher." A few days later Lincoln returned the papers, with the endorsement, "He is now." Stanton replied, "There is no vacancy."

Lincoln concluded "Appoint him anyway." And so, presumably, he was appointed.

Mrs. Grimsley affirmed that Mrs. Lincoln and the other women of the White House never made but one attempt, and that a successful one, to influence the president concerning a political appointment. Their former pastor, the Reverend James Smith, had grown old and had retired from the active ministry. His son had been United States Consul at Dundee, Scotland, and had died there. Mrs. Lincoln earnestly desired that Doctor Smith be permitted to succeed his son. He was abundantly competent to care for the not very arduous duties of the consulate, and the salary, while small, was enough to assure him of a support. Mrs. Lincoln and her cousins vowed that if Lincoln would grant them this one favor, they would never again ask him to appoint any friend of theirs to any office. It was not very difficult for them to secure the granting of their request. Lincoln honored Doctor Smith, and quite probably would have done the very thing they asked even if they had not requested it. But he received the delegation with all proper dignity, and after having made his protest against being coerced in matters of this character by members of his own household, he very cheerfully made the appointment.

Notwithstanding wars and rumors of wars, there was something of home life in the White House. The Lincoln boys were constantly making new friends and new discoveries, and their daily chatter and gossip kept things alive, and Lincoln was not always sad or cast down. His ability to be natural and even mirthful when things were at their worst was a quality of saving value. Sometimes the boys were sick, and Lincoln was anxious and Mrs. Lincoln almost hysterical. She was too nervous and excitable a mother to be a good nurse, but she loved her children devotedly.

Once, Lincoln was sick. The Lincoln boys, visiting the soldiers, encountered small-pox, and the president himself had a mild attack of it. They called it varioloid, and the White House

was not quarantined. If the infectious nature of the president's illness kept any office-seeker away, the fact is not of record. "Come in," said Lincoln cheerfully, "I have something now that I can give everybody."

CHAPTER IV

THE HOUSE DIVIDED

IF WARS must be it ought at least to be clear precisely what the fighting is about. The bewilderment of the little boy in Southey's poem, and the inability of his grandfather to explain the situation intelligibly, has been shared by historians since time began. Little Peterkin asks:

"Pray tell us all about the war,
'And what they fought each other for?"

The historian is hard put to it to answer this wholly reasonable, but always disconcerting inquiry:

"It was the English," Caspar cried,
"Who put the French to rout,
But what they fought each other for,
I could not well make out.
But everybody said," quoth he:
"That 'twas a famous victory."

It is not easy even yet to reach entire agreement concerning the cause of America's Civil War.

A very simple answer from the southern point of view is that the United States was not organized as a nation, but a confederacy; that the states united in creating it by voluntary consent, and that some of them at the time expressly reserved the power and full right of withdrawal. Jefferson Davis, in his *History of the Confederate States*, reminded his readers that not only Vir-

ginia, but New York and Rhode Island, in ratifying the Constitution of the United States, expressly reserved the right of secession.*

Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy, wrote a history in two volumes of what he called *The War Between the States*. Stephens had been so earnest a defender of the Union that Lincoln at one time had serious thought of inviting him to be a member of his Cabinet, remembering his great admiration for Stephens, when Lincoln himself was a member of Congress.

Stephens, whose book was published in 1868, dedicated it "To all true friends of the Union under the Constitution." He believed, however, that that Constitution provided only for a federation based upon the common consent of the states uniting, and that any state could terminate its own union with the other states whenever it chose.

The doctrine of the right of secession was not confined to the South. Extreme abolitionists, like William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, insistently denounced the Union, and believed that the free states had a right to secede from the states that held slaves. It would thus be a grave mistake to assume that all believers in secession were also believers in slavery. This is an assumption upon which many authors have mistakenly insisted.

Andrew Jackson firmly believed that no state had a right to nullify an act of the general government, or to withdraw from the Union. Jackson died regretting that he had never been able to shoot Henry Clay or to hang Calhoun.†

It has been said with good reason that the federal idea, that of the union of sovereign states in the more inclusive unity of a nation is the greatest contribution of the Anglo-Saxon race to

*Mr. Davis devotes a short chapter to this subject and earnestly endeavors to refute the application of any such terms as rebellion or treason as applied to the secession of the slave states. See his *History*, pp. 50, 52.

†Claude G. Bowers' *Party Battles of the Jackson Period*, p. 480.

the science and practise of government.* At the time of the signing of the Declaration of Independence the idea of a government in which the powers of a state were to be divided between the component units and the general authority of the nation, was practically unknown. The men who established the American colonies stood in fear of a strong government, and held in general to the theory that that government was best which governed least. The progress of the Revolutionary War demonstrated the necessity for a stronger government than the Articles of Federation provided for. The Constitution of the United States was construed from the beginning as a grant of power to, and not as a limitation upon powers inherent in, a federal state.

After the adoption of the Constitution, proposals of nullification or secession based upon doctrine of States' Rights, were evoked perhaps as frequently in the North as in the South. The Whisky Rebellion in Pennsylvania in 1795, and the Hartford Convention in New England in 1814, were based upon as radical a conception of state sovereignty as the Kentucky Resolutions of 1799, of which Thomas Jefferson subsequently acknowledged himself to be the author. In 1825 the state of Georgia forcibly prevented the execution of federal laws and Alabama pursued a similar course in 1832. In that same year the state of South Carolina, led by John C. Calhoun, set forth in its baldest form the theory of the right of a state to nullify the acts of the general government.

On the other hand fourteen northern states in the decade before the Civil War took action to prevent the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave law in acts known as Personal Liberty laws, which made it a crime to enforce within the state a particular statute of the nation.

The Civil War settled, and we hope forever, the question

*See an interesting and valuable article by Honorable Marvin B. Rosenberry, of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, in the *North American Review* for August, 1923. I summarize here some of the conclusions of that article.

whether the United States was one nation or several nations; but the process by which the federal idea came to national recognition did not end with the surrender of Lee's Army at Appomattox. That process has been continuous and is not yet at an end.

Daniel Webster held to the basic unity of the United States as something in its very nature indissoluble. Lincoln fully accepted Webster's position. He believed that the Union could not be broken up by the act of any single state, nor by any group of states acting without the consent of all the rest.

Thus it might seem that the question concerning the origin of the war was a very easy one to answer. The South believed, and very many men in the North admitted, the right of a state to secede. The South asserted that right; the North opposed it with force and arms. The North won the war, and that settled the question so far as war can ever settle a question of this character.

This, however, is far from being a satisfactory solution of the problem. Admitting that the South believed that individual states had a right to secede, why did they care to exercise that right? Surely, the fact that the political parties then in the majority in those states had been defeated in an honest election was not an adequate reason for the disruption of the Union.

Alexander H. Stephens' love for the Union has already been mentioned. In 1861 he spoke concerning the Constitution of the Confederate States of America, and said:

The new Constitution has put at rest forever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution, African slavery. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture, and present revolution. The prevailing ideas entertained by Jefferson, and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the old constitution were that the enslavement of the African was wrong in principal, socially, morally, and politically. Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not

the equal of the white man; that slavery—subordination to the white man—is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.

Abraham Lincoln declared at Gettysburg that the nation which began with the Declaration of Independence was conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men were equal. He and Alexander H. Stephens would have agreed that the war was fought to determine whether that affirmation was correct.

For a very long time the leaders who believed in the moral righteousness and political expediency of slavery had been apprehensive that their power was destined to fail. The westward expansion of the country, though maintained for a considerable time with a balance of power secured by the admission of one free state for each slave state, could not permanently establish that ratio. The success of the Mexican War in securing new territory south of Mason and Dixon's line was destined to be more than offset by the entrance of California and Kansas into the Union as free states, and the opening of new free territories in the West and Northwest. How to hold for slavery an adequate part of the new area of the nation, was a perplexing political question. On this the Democratic Party itself was divided. Stephen A. Douglas was the man who elected Abraham Lincoln president. He who protested against Lincoln's declaration that a house divided against itself could not stand, was himself living in a divided house, the Democratic Party, and his foes were they of his own household.

The census of 1860 showed a total population in the United States of 31,453,790. Of this the slave states had 12,315,372, and the free states 19,128,418. A large part of the population of the slave states, however, was in the border states, some of which did not secede. The seceded states stretched from the Atlantic to the extreme western point of Texas, and from the Gulf of Mexico north nearly to the old dividing line of 36° 30',

with Virginia lying north of that line and carrying the northern boundary of the Confederacy to the very gates of the capital city. A comparison of the census of 1860 with that of 1850 showed an increase of more than one-third in population, with a growing proportion of that increase in the free states. The United States at that time led all nations in agriculture, the cotton crops being one of the country's most important products and one of the leading exports. Manufacturers were increasing. Railroads had been extended until there was a total mileage of 30,000 in 1860, against 7,500 in 1850.

This increase was very largely in the North. South of the border states there was no large city except New Orleans. There were hardly any manufacturing establishments of any importance south of Maryland.

Politically, the North and the anti-slavery cause had made large and permanent gain. Minnesota and Oregon had entered the Union as free states, and Kansas, no longer bleeding and no longer halting between two opinions, had taken her place in the sisterhood as a free state. The control of the Senate had been hopelessly lost to the slave states before the first of them seceded.

The two sections seriously misunderstood each other. The South believed that the North was so engrossed in money making that it would not fight, or if it did, would fight ineffectively. There was a popular delusion that one southern man could whip seven Yankees. In the North it was believed that the South was given to bluster, but that the southern states would not fight, or if they did, would quickly be subdued. Each section had to learn that the other was fully capable of heroic fighting. When the two armies met each other in the field, each had to face a brave antagonist. Both armies were American, and neither could count upon the cowardice or irresolution of the other.

For some time it was uncertain just how many states would join the Confederacy. The first group of states to secede was South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia and

Louisiana. These were the states represented in the Constitutional Convention at Montgomery, Alabama, on February 8, 1861. On February twenty-third, Texas joined the ranks of seceding states. Arkansas followed May sixth, North Carolina May twentieth, Virginia May twenty-third, and Tennessee June eighth. In no case was this action ratified by a free popular vote. Virginia and Tennessee were in possession of the Confederate troops when the vote was taken in those states, and no vote of the electorate was taken in the others. Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri, important border states containing many secessionists, remained in the Union. The eastern end of Tennessee remained loyal, and the western end of Virginia, denying the right of a state to secede, itself seceded from secession and entered the Union as the state of West Virginia.

Soon after the inauguration of Lincoln, William H. Seward, Secretary of State, refused to recognize a delegation sent from the Confederate Congress to treat with the Federal Government for an amicable separation. Lincoln, whom many believed to be an irresolute man without strength of will, had come to the White House with his mind fully made up on two important matters. One was that there should be no compromise based upon any plan that admitted the further extension of slavery. The other was that no state was to be permitted to take itself out of the Union. In the interregum between his election and inauguration Lincoln had carefully thought this out in all its possible bearings. He was not yet president, and had no right to give any military or political orders, but on both these points he communicated his desires and inflexible purpose in letters whose contents reached both Congress and the army. Two letters, the originals of which are in the Washburne manuscripts of the Chicago Historical Society, show with what convictions and purposes Lincoln came to the presidential chair. On December 13, 1860, he wrote to his confidential friend, Elihu B. Washburne:

Confidential

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Dec. 13, 1860.

Hon. E. B. Washburne—My Dear Sir: Your long letter received. Prevent as far as possible, any of our friends from demoralizing themselves and our cause, by entertaining propositions for compromise of any sort on the slavery extension. There is no possible compromise upon it, but which puts us under again, and leaves us all our work to do over again. Whether it be a Missouri line, or Eli Thayer's Popular Sovereignty, it is all the same. Let either be done, and immediately filibustering, and extending slavery recommences. On that point hold firm, as with a chain of steel.

Yours as ever,
A. Lincoln.

Again, on the twenty-first of December, he wrote as follows:

Confidential

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., DEC. 21, 1860.

Hon. E. B. Washburne—My Dear Sir: Last night I received your letter, giving an account of your interview with General Scott, and for which I thank you. Please present my respects to the General, and tell him confidentially, I shall be obliged to him to be as well prepared as he can to either *hold*, or retake, the forts, as the case may require, at and after the inauguration.

Yours as ever,
A. Lincoln.

When Lincoln came to the presidency, the government was crippled not only by the impotence of Buchanan, but by participation in the government until the very eve of his inauguration of men already committed to the Confederacy. Honorable Isaac N. Arnold, who spoke out of personal knowledge, says:

There was a meeting held at the capital on the night of January 5th, [1861], at which Jefferson Davis, Senators Toombs, Iverson, Slidell, Benjamin, Wigfall, and other leading conspirators were present. They resolved in secret conclave to precipitate secession and disunion as soon as possible, and at the same time resolved that senators and members of the House should remain in their seats at the Capitol as long as possible, to watch

and control the action of the Executive, and thwart and defeat any hostile measures proposed.

In accordance with concerted plans, some of the senators and members, as the states they represented passed ordinances of secession, retired from the Senate and House of Representatives. Some went forth, breathing war and vengeance, others expressing deep feeling and regret. Nearly all were careful to draw their pay, stationery, and documents, and their mileage home from the treasury of the government which they went forth avowedly to overthrow. There were two honorable exceptions among the representatives from the Gulf states—Mr. Boulogny, representative from New Orleans, and Andrew J. Hamilton, from Texas. They remained true to the Union.*

Men like Jefferson Davis, who were already chosen to offices under the Confederate Government, had withdrawn before the inauguration of Lincoln, but not a few of those who later fought against the Federal Government retained their seats in Congress until their terms expired on March 4, 1861. Not only their votes but their active influence in Washington did much to demoralize the government.

Not all of the division was between the North and South. The loyal element in the South was much larger than is commonly known. On the other hand, a very large section of the North was opposed to the employment of forcible measures to retain within the Union any state that desired to go out of it. Even Horace Greeley declared that when any state or group of states desired to go out of the Union he would oppose all coercive measures to keep them in. Greeley changed his mind about this as he did about some other matters. Greeley with all his inconsistencies, was loyal to the government, though sorely perplexed as to the best way for the government to function in that trying emergency.

There was a strong element in the North which sympathized actively with the South. Of its distribution and influence we shall take note hereafter.

**Life of Lincoln*, p. 177.

Of Lincoln's living predecessors in office, Millard Fillmore, then living at an advanced age in quiet retirement in New York State, was the only one who could be said to sympathize with Lincoln. Buchanan's course has already been noted. John Tyler died January 18, 1862, a member of the Confederate Congress. Franklin Pierce, though a northern man, wrote on January 6, 1860, to Jefferson Davis:

If through the madness of Northern Abolitionists, that dire calamity (disruption of the Union), must come, the fighting will not be along Mason and Dixon's line merely. It will be *within our own borders, in our own streets*, between the two classes of citizens to whom I have referred. Those who defy law and scout constitutional obligation, will, if we ever reach the arbitrament of arms, find occupation enough at home.

But must there be war? Both North and South earnestly hoped that this would not be found necessary; yet steadily and inevitably, day by day, the war drew nearer.

It would seem as if the South would have realized at the outset the hopelessness of a war. It had a much smaller population, and no manufactures. If it went to war, and the war continued until the issue became a question of men and resources, the South was doomed to defeat before a single gun was fired.

On the other hand the South had marked advantages in case of any attempt to maintain the Union by force. As it would presumably act on the defensive, it needed fewer men. Its slave population was available for the support of the army, leaving its white men free for military service. Many of the ablest officers in the United States Army were southern men; indeed, most of the Confederate generals of note had been educated at West Point. But the South had no navy, and as it could not look to the North for manufactured products, it would have to depend for them upon Europe.

Hostilities had really begun before Lincoln was inaugurated. Most of the southern forts and arsenals had been surrendered.

Norfolk with two thousand cannon had been handed over to the Confederates. Harper's Ferry had been menaced and abandoned. Of all the forts in all the seceded states only Key West, at the tip of Florida, Fort Pickens at Pensacola, and Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, remained in possession of the Federal Government. Of these the most conspicuous was Fort Sumter, then garrisoned by a small force under Major Robert Anderson. Lincoln came to the presidential chair with the knowledge that he must soon decide whether to permit Fort Sumter to be captured by assault, or to be starved into surrender, or whether he would undertake to relieve its beleaguered garrison. If he did this, he knew that he must assume responsibility for being charged with the outbreak of hostilities.

On the morning following his inauguration, Lincoln went to his office in the White House and found a letter from Mr. Holt, who was still acting as secretary of war, informing him that Fort Sumter must be reenforced or else abandoned. Major Robert Anderson had in the previous week taken stock of his provision and sent a report which arrived on the morning of the inauguration. He had food enough to last him about four weeks, or possibly, by careful conservation of rations, for forty days.

On Saturday night, March ninth, Lincoln held his first Cabinet meeting. On that day Lincoln had submitted to General Scott the question whether Fort Sumter ought to be relieved or abandoned. General Scott advised the evacuation of the fort. On March fifteenth, Lincoln laid the whole question before his Cabinet, and asked for a written answer to the question:

Assuming it to be possible to now provision Fort Sumter, under all the circumstances, is it wise to attempt it?

Five members of the Cabinet voted in the negative; they were Seward, Cameron, Welles, Smith and Bates. Seward argued the question at some length. To attempt to provision Sumter

would provoke the beginning of hostilities. The slave states still hesitating between the Union and rebellion would be driven over to the side of the South. Sumter was practically useless; it was important that the Union be saved without bloodshed if possible. The two who voted in favor of the relief of Sumter were Chase and Blair.

The first state dinner at the White House occurred on the evening of March twenty-eighth. Just before the party broke up, Lincoln called the members of his Cabinet into an adjoining room and informed them that General Scott had advised in the interests of conciliation that both Fort Sumter and Fort Pickens be given up.

That night Abraham Lincoln's eyes did not close in sleep.

It was Lincoln himself who finally reached the determination to relieve Fort Sumter in the matter of provisions, but not with arms and ammunition. There was indeed a plan that the unarmed vessel carrying the provisions should be followed at no great distance by a sufficient naval force to effect an entrance if necessary. This plan, through a complication involving cross-purposes between Seward and Welles, did not materialize; but Lincoln determined to "send bread to Anderson." He also caused it to be known that he was sending bread only, and not bullets. On April sixth Lincoln ordered the provisioning of Sumter. Pacific and conciliatory as this announcement was intended to be, it did not satisfy the impatient Confederate authorities. The attempt to carry food to Fort Sumter they chose to regard as an invasion of the South.

CHAPTER V

ON TO RICHMOND

THE Confederate Government was closely patterned after that of the Government of the United States. This was occasion both of strength and weakness in the new organization. It was a form so familiar that the leaders on the southern side were able to get to work at once under methods of administration with which they were familiar; but it carried over existing rivalries and created offices which it was not always easy to fill. Certain southern writers maintain that the South suffered because it had to have a president and had no available man except Jefferson Davis, while possessing many men who thought themselves superior to him in fitness for the position. Jefferson Davis left the United States Senate nearly two months before Lincoln's inauguration. He was elected provisional president of the Confederacy February 9, 1861, his formal election to the presidency occurring some months later. His inauguration took place February eighteenth, fifteen days before that of Lincoln.

For several weeks after their inauguration both presidents pursued a waiting policy. Neither Abraham Lincoln nor Jefferson Davis wished to take the initiative in what threatened to be a civil war. The Confederate Government appointed three commissioners to go to Washington to inform President Lincoln that seven states had withdrawn from the Union and become an independent nation, and to arrange for an adjustment, on terms of amity and good-will, all questions arising out of the separation. These three commissioners were John Forsythe, André B. Roman and Martin J. Crawford.

Crawford arrived in Washington the day before Lincoln's inauguration, and Forsythe arrived a day or two later. These men, believing Seward to be the real power of the new administration, and feeling assured of Seward's earnest desire that war should be averted, endeavored to come to an understanding with the new secretary of state. In the negotiations between these commissioners and the secretary, the go-between was Judge John A. Campbell, an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, whose conduct in the matter is not above reproach. To him Seward confided his belief that Fort Sumter would not be reinforced, and that if hostilities were averted, the fort must of necessity be evacuated before many weeks. This opinion, which the president and the Cabinet shared, the commissioners accepted as a pledge of the government. Seward was incautious in making this statement, but there is no ground for the charge that he was disloyal to Lincoln or untrue in his representations to Campbell and through him to the commissioners. As we know, the time came when Lincoln determined to relieve Sumter, sending provisions but not arms. This announcement was heralded by certain Confederate authorities, and is still proclaimed by superficial critics, as a violation of agreement. This became the pretext of the Confederates for firing upon Sumter.

As a matter of fact the tension on both sides had been increasing from the time of Lincoln's inauguration. It would not have been possible much longer to avert some act of hostility. Aristotle taught "The causes of war are profound, but the occasions of war are slight." Any one of several events might have brought on war. The firing upon Sumter, however, was not the act of a mob, it was the authorized act of the Confederate Government.

On April twelfth the batteries which had been erected on the shores of Charleston Harbor opened fire upon Fort Sumter. Major Robert Anderson returned the fire. The fort, after thirty-four hours of bombardment, surrendered, the garrison march-

ing out with the honors of war. It can not quite be said that Sumter was forced to surrender. No one had been hurt, and provisions were not exhausted; but an honorable defense had been made, and no relief was expected.

The fall of Fort Sumter unified the North and also unified the South. It hastened the decision of Virginia to enter the Confederacy, and thus forced the line of the seceded states to the bank of the Potomac opposite Washington. It removed from the South the last vestige of belief that the North was not in deadly earnest.

The effect upon the North was not less significant. To the special session of Congress convened shortly after, Lincoln thus defined the issue:

The assault upon and reduction of Fort Sumter was in no sense a matter of self-defense on the part of the assailants. They well knew that the garrison in the fort could by no possibility commit aggression upon them. They knew—they were expressly notified—that the giving of bread to the few brave and hungry men of the garrison was all which would on that occasion be attempted, unless themselves, by resisting so much, should provoke more. They knew that this government desired to keep the garrison in the fort, not to assail them, but merely to maintain visible possession, and thus to preserve the Union from actual and immediate dissolution—trusting, as hereinbefore stated, to time, discussion, and the ballot-box for final adjustment; and they assailed and reduced the fort for precisely the reverse object—to drive out the visible authority of the Federal Union, and thus force it to immediate dissolution. . . .

And this issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional republic or democracy—a government of the people by the same people—can or can not maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. . . .

So viewing the issue, no choice was left but to call out the war power of the government; and so to resist force employed for its destruction, by force for its preservation.

Two days after the fall of Fort Sumter Lincoln issued a call for seventy-five thousand volunteers to serve for three months, "to maintain the honor, the integrity and the existence of our national Union." The response was immediate and hearty. The number of men who volunteered was far in excess of the number called for. The men who responded had no doubt that the ninety days of their enlistment would be more than ample to put down the rebellion.

Jefferson Davis answered Lincoln's call for troops with a desperate effort to build up the southern navy under the offer to issue letters of marque and reprisal against the United States. Lincoln on the nineteenth of April, proclaimed a partial, and on the twenty-third, a general blockade of southern ports. The Confederate States, assuming to be an independent power, formally declared war against the United States.

Meantime, Washington was in peril. Confederate troops mustered and drilled within plain sight of the city. The handful of regular troops in Washington was entirely inadequate for the protection of the nation's capital. The first regiments of those who responded to Lincoln's proclamation were hastened by the shortest route to Washington. The route lay through Baltimore.

Eminent military authorities assert that progress in the manufacture of weapons of war results in relative security of life. If two men fight with knives, one is likely to be killed and the other badly wounded in five minutes; but the same men in rifle-pits a mile apart may shoot at each other from time to time all winter and both emerge safe in the spring. The bombardment of Fort Sumter lasted thirty-four hours, and not a drop of blood was shed on either side. That was something for which both sides were thankful. Both governments resolved to be very careful not to do anything which should cause it to bear the onus of shedding the first blood; and each vainly hoped that if bloodshed could be postponed a little longer, actual war might be averted.

The first bloodshed was not in pitched battle, nor was it

authorized by either government. It was an attack by a mob, on April nineteenth, on the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment passing through Baltimore on its way to Washington. To their credit, it should be recorded that the mayor of the city and the marshal of the police force faithfully endeavored to quell the riot, but were unable to do so. The soldiers were compelled to defend themselves, and they returned the fire of the rioters. Four soldiers were killed and thirty-six were wounded. Of the mob twelve were killed and the number of wounded was not accurately reported. It could not longer be said, however, that the conflict was bloodless. The anniversary of the battle of Lexington had been celebrated by the first shedding of blood between the North and South.

Wild rumors filled Washington and came up to the White House, announcing that the Rebels were marching from Baltimore and about to take Washington. It seemed as though the nation's capital might at any time fall into the hands of the Confederates. It is impossible to exaggerate the consternation felt at Washington after this fatal incident.

On the following day and the next, delegations from Baltimore waited upon Lincoln earnestly beseeching him not to permit any more troops to pass through that city. Although there was only one railroad at that time connecting Washington with the North, and that railroad passed through Baltimore, Lincoln tactfully considered the request. For a few days the troops sailed down Chesapeake Bay to Annapolis, and thus reached Washington without passing through Baltimore. This arrangement, however, was only temporary. In a few days Baltimore was open to the unrestricted passage of Union troops.

The days that followed in the White House were days of extreme depression. Expected reenforcements from Massachusetts and Rhode Island did not arrive. On April twenty-fourth John Hay entered in his diary:

This has been a day of gloom and doubt. Everybody seems

filled with a vague distrust and recklessness. The idea seemed to be reached by Lincoln when chatting with the volunteers this morning, he said, "I don't believe there is any North! The Seventh Regiment is a myth! Rhode Island is not known in our geography any longer. You are the only northern realities." Seward's messengers, sent out by the dozen do not return. The Seventh and Butler's are probably still at Annapolis. A rumor this evening says the railroad is in the hands of the government, and the sappers and miners are at work repairing it.

The Seventh New York Regiment was at Annapolis, having sailed down Chesapeake Bay to avoid Baltimore. But the railroad between Annapolis and Washington had been put out of commission. It is amazing that with Annapolis so near to Washington there should have been any lack of certainty as to the presence there of any body of troops, or of their progress toward Washington. It almost passes belief that Seward's messengers should have brought back no tidings. But the rumors which were current on the twenty-fourth proved to be well founded. The next day brought the first train load of troops of the Seventh New York. The capital began to have some faint measure of faith in its own security. The Seventh New York drew up on the White House lawn, weary and dirty from their labor in repairing the railroad, and Lincoln personally received them. Indeed, it became his custom to receive regiments that came for the relief of Washington. The next day General Benjamin F. Butler arrived with fourteen hundred soldiers, and Rhode Island justified her claim to a place on the map by the arrival of twelve hundred troops. Within a few days the total number of troops in Washington is said to have been seventeen thousand. The capital was defended.

The Confederate Congress held only a brief and preliminary session at Montgomery, Alabama. Three days before the people of Virginia were to vote upon the question of secession, the capital of the Confederates was removed to Richmond. The Confederate Congress meeting in Montgomery, adjourned to meet in Richmond on July 20, 1861. The Federal Congress

had been called by Lincoln to meet in Washington on July fourth. Immediately there went up a cry from the North declaring that the Rebel Congress ought not to be permitted to meet. Richmond should be occupied by Federal troops, and the meeting of this disloyal Congress prevented. The demand for an advance on Richmond began even before the fall of Sumter, and grew loud and strong after that event.

The two congresses met, the Federal Congress in Washington and the Confederate in Richmond. These two cities are not far apart. The ninety days of the first troops were approaching the expiration of the period of their enlistment. Unless an advance was made soon, the seventy-five thousand would go back to their homes and leave the country without an army.

Ought Abraham Lincoln immediately after his inauguration to have ordered General Scott to occupy Richmond? Ought he, as soon as he was safely seated in the presidential chair, to have sent an armed expedition to the relief of Fort Sumter? These are among the questions concerning which debate will be perpetually permissible. It is possible that the calmer judgment of most men will agree that on the whole the patient policy of Abraham Lincoln was better than would have been a policy more precipitate.

At the time of the fall of Sumter the total strength of the United States Army, officers and men, was 17,113. Fully a third of these were certain to withdraw and go with the South. This little band of perhaps ten thousand men was scattered in distant states, doing police duty on the frontier and keeping up the mere skeleton of army organization. As soon as the first volunteers began to arrive in response to Lincoln's proclamation, the cry for an advance on Richmond became strong throughout the North. General Scott opposed an immediate advance, believing that the troops had as yet no adequate preparation for an active campaign.

History furnishes the forum for a perpetual three-fold debate. First, there is always room for discussion concerning what actu-

ally occurred. Secondly, there is always room for difference of opinion concerning the causes of events; assuming that we have established with reasonable certainty the facts as they took place, we are then at liberty to discover if we can, who was responsible. Thirdly, there is always opportunity to discuss what would have happened if something had or had not occurred, and if somebody had done something other than he did or is believed to have done.

There is no room to question the loyalty of General Scott. He was true to his country under very trying conditions. He loved his state, Virginia, and it broke his heart to contemplate the necessity of bearing arms against her. Moreover, he had once been a candidate for president, and he did not wholly forget his political interests. It is much to his credit that he stood unfalteringly for the Union. But General Scott was an old man, and had grown cautious to the point of timidity. What would have happened if General Scott had died about the end of Buchanan's administration, and there had been in Washington a man in middle life with military training and some experience, who could have taken command of Lincoln's 75,000 men enlisted for ninety days, and marched them straight toward Richmond, drilling them as he marched? We can never know the answer to this question, but it is easy to imagine what might have happened had Andrew Jackson been in command of these volunteers when they began to assemble about Washington in April, 1861.

On July 21, 1861, the first important battle in the campaign against Richmond was fought at Bull Run, about thirty miles southwest of Washington. Like many battles that followed, this one has two names. The North called it the Battle of Bull Run, and the South called it the Battle of Manassas. Contrary to popular impression, the battle appears to have been well planned. Reinforcements for the Confederates arrived, however, at an opportune moment, and the Union retreat became a panic-stricken race for the Potomac.

We now know that the Confederates were heavy losers, and that for this reason they did not follow up their advantage. General Albert Sidney Johnston said, "The Confederate Army was more demoralized by victory than the United States Army by defeat." But no one in Washington had the comfort of this knowledge when the panic-stricken troops that had gone forth so confidently, so boastfully, returned over the Long Bridge exhausted and terrified.

Foremost among those who had cried for advance upon Richmond was Horace Greeley. After the battle of Bull Run he came in for severe criticism for having pushed an unprepared army forward to certain defeat. Greeley never admitted that he deserved this criticism. He said:

The war cry, "Forward to Richmond!" did not originate with me; but it is just what should have been uttered, and the words should have been translated into deeds. Instead of energy, vigor, promptness, daring, decision, we had in our councils weakness, irresolution, hesitation, delay; and, when at last our hastily collected forces, after being demoralized by weeks of idleness and dissipation, were sent forward, they advanced on separate lines, under different commanders; this enabling the enemy to concentrate all its forces in Virginia against a single corps of ours, defeating and stampeding it at Bull Run, while other Union volunteers, aggregating nearly twice its strength, lay idle and useless near Harper's Ferry, in and about Washington, and at Fortress Monroe. Thus what should have been a short, sharp struggle, was expanded into a long desultory one; while those whose blundering incapacity or lack of purpose was responsible for those ills, united in throwing the blame on the faithful few who had counseled justly, but whose urgent remonstrances they had never heeded.*

Whatever Greeley could find to say in defense of his "on-to-Richmond" policy before the battle of Bull Run, no possible justification can ever be suggested for his letter to Lincoln following that battle. To Greeley it seemed that the Union cause

**Recollections of a Busy Life*, pp. 402-403.

was irretrievably lost, and he was ready to consider an armistice looking to the end of the war. A more hysterical and less comforting letter than the following can hardly be imagined:

New York, Monday, July 29, 1861.
Midnight.

Dear Sir: This is my seventh sleepless night—yours, too, doubtless—yet I think I shall not die, because I have no right to die. I must struggle to live, however bitterly. But to business. You are not considered a great man, and I am a hopelessly broken one. You are now undergoing a terrible ordeal, and God has thrown the greatest responsibilities upon you. Do not fear to meet them. Can the rebels be beaten after all that has occurred, and in view of the actual state of feeling caused by our late, awful disaster? If they can,—and it is your business to ascertain and decide,—write me that such is your judgment, so that I may know and do my duty. And if they *cannot* be beaten,—if our recent disaster is fatal,—do not fear to sacrifice yourself to your country. If the rebels are not to be beaten,—if that is your judgment in view of all the light you can get,—then every drop of blood henceforth shed in this quarrel will be wantonly, wickedly shed, and the guilt will rest heavily on the soul of every promoter of the crime. I pray you to decide quickly and let me know my duty.

If the Union is irrevocably gone, an armistice for 30, 60, 90, 120 days—better still for a year—ought at once to be proposed, with a view to a peaceful adjustment. Then Congress should call a national convention, to meet at the earliest possible day. And there should be an immediate and mutual exchange or release of prisoners and a disbandment of forces. I do not consider myself at present a judge of anything but public sentiment. That seems to me everywhere gathering and deepening against a prosecution of the war. The gloom in this city is funereal.—for our dead at Bull Run were many, and they lie unburied yet. On every brow sits sullen, scorching, black despair. It would have been easy to have Mr. Crittenden move any proposition that ought to be adopted, or to have it come from any proper quarter. The first point is to ascertain what is best that can be done—which is the measure of our duty, and do that very thing at the earliest moment.

This letter is written in the strictest confidence, and is for your eye alone. But you are at liberty to say to members of your cabinet that you *know* I will second any move you may see fit to make. But do nothing timidly nor by halves. Send me word what to do. I will live until I can hear it at all events. If it is best for the country and for mankind that we make peace with the rebels at once and on their own terms, do not shrink even from that. But bear in mind the greatest truth: "Whoso would lose his life for my sake shall save it." Do the thing that is the highest right, and tell me how I am to second you.

Yours, in the depths of bitterness,
Horace Greeley.

Lincoln quickly saw the importance of calling for a much larger number of men and for a longer period of service than his original proclamation contemplated. He soon learned that three months would not be long enough. He therefore urged upon Secretary Cameron the acceptance of a larger number than he originally contemplated. Regiment after regiment was added and provisions were made for their equipment and sustenance. Gradually the nation came to understand, and Lincoln earlier than many of the leaders of public opinion, that the war was to be longer and much more bitter than any one, either North or South, had supposed.

The effect of Bull Run was to convince both North and South that the war was not to be a short and easy one, but perhaps its most important result was its influence on European Governments. They believed quite generally after this battle, that superiority of leadership was with the South. With the exception of Russia, all European Governments, and especially that of England and France, tended to side with the South.

Nevertheless, it is more than possible that it was better for the Union cause that its armies did not win at Bull Run. A cheap and easy victory won at that stage of the war might have proved disastrous in the days that followed.

In the West the situation was more favorable. Under Generals Lyons, Frémont and Halleck, the Confederate forces were

gradually driven out of Missouri, and that state was saved to the Union. The citizens of German birth in that state were an important factor in the attainment of this result. Kentucky, which at first officially maintained an armed neutrality, was held in the Union by regiments of her own loyal citizens. Thus was the line of the Confederacy pushed far to the south of the Missouri and Ohio Rivers. In the east, however, the Confederate flag flew within sight of the capitol, and it was considered cheering news when the papers could report that all was "quiet along the Potomac."

This is not a history of the Civil War. Many of its battles will not be mentioned. Many of its leading generals and notable events must go without recognition in these pages. Only so much is to be said about the war and those engaged in it as is necessary to our interpretation of the life of Abraham Lincoln. But the "impending crisis" long foretold by Hinton Rowan Helper, the "irrepressible conflict" of which William H. Seward had spoken, the "house divided against itself" of which Lincoln had talked in his debates with Douglas, came swiftly.

Lincoln had been careful to disclaim responsibility for John Brown, whom he regarded as an unauthorized fanatic. But the war which Lincoln found himself compelled to fight gave him unexpected fellowship with that praying old fighter. Not without reason did Lincoln's seventy-five thousand volunteers rally to the defense of the Union, with a song about "Old John Brown." They were fighting, whether they knew it or not, for something more than a definition of the Constitution. They sang as they marched:

"John Brown's body lies a-mould'ring in the grave,
But his soul goes marching on."

CHAPTER VI

LINCOLN AND CONGRESS

THE president of the United States is commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States; but he has no power to declare war, and no power to raise or appropriate money to carry on a war. These functions belong to the Congress. But there are certain powers which the Constitution recognizes but does not definitely locate. Even in times of peace it is not easy to say just where the powers of Congress end and those of the president begin; and the extraordinary necessities of war give opportunity for much misunderstanding and friction. Lincoln had seen little of Congress since his own membership for a single term in 1847-8. He had opportunity to behold Congress in session, and to feel its atmosphere a few days before his inauguration.

Lincoln's reception in that Congress was none too favorable. When he reached Washington, the Congress then sitting was near its end. Some of its most prominent members were concluding their service and were about to depart, some to their districts that had elected as their successors men of the new party, and others to the Confederacy, with which already they were virtually identified. Adam Gurowski, in his entertaining *Diary*, in which he claimed to record events as rapidly as they occurred and impressions while yet they were fresh, began his orderly chronicle with the inauguration, but going back for a few days for an introduction to his narrative, wrote:

Some days previous to the inauguration, Mr. Seward brought Mr. Lincoln on the Senate floor, of course on the Republican side; but soon Mr. Seward was busily running among Demo-

crats, begging them to be introduced to Mr. Lincoln. It was a saddening, humiliating and revolting sight for the galleries, where I was. Criminal as is Mason, for a minute I got reconciled to him for the scowl of horror and contempt with which he shook his head at Seward. Only two or three Democratic Senators were moved by Seward's humble entreaties.*

Ethan Allen is alleged to have demanded the surrender of Fort Ticonderoga "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." It seems almost a pity to learn that this story does not rest on secure foundation. We should like to discover the Congress of the United States in more normal alignment with the Divine purpose, and in more frequent appeal to the heroic. During the Revolution, Congress was small comfort to Washington, and during the Civil War it was sometimes a thorn in the flesh of Lincoln.

Lincoln's first message to Congress, when that body assembled on July 4, 1861, was a very different document from his inaugural address. It recited the events which had occurred during his four months of office. It gave a detailed account of matters relating to Fort Sumter and the call for volunteers. It recited that after the first call for troops it had been necessary to increase the number of volunteers to three hundred thousand and extend the period of service to three years. These calls for troops he believed to have been justified by "a popular demand and a public necessity." He did not discuss whether these measures were strictly legal or not. He believed that Congress would readily ratify them.

The body of the message was a discussion of the question of the right of secession. This right he denied in the most explicit terms and in an extended argument. He declared the theory of the right of secession to be "an ingenious sophism, which if conceded, might be followed by perfectly logical steps, through all the incidents, to the complete destruction of the Union." This "sophism" he defined in terms of this proposition:

*Gurowski's *Diary*, p. 15.

That any State of the Union may consistently with the National Constitution, and therefore lawfully and peacefully, withdraw from the Union without the consent of the Union or of any other State.

He said:

Our popular government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled—the successful establishing and the successful administering of it. One still remains—its successful maintenance against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets; and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal, except to ballots themselves, at succeeding elections. Such will be a great lesson of peace; teaching men that what they cannot take by an election, neither can they take it by a war; teaching all the folly of being the beginners of a war.

He considered the fact that certain of the states, as for instance Florida, had involved the government in large expense, either for their purchase price or for expenses incurred in repelling Indian attacks or in the settlement of the claims of the Indian tribes or compensation for the land. Were these states at liberty to withdraw from the Union and leave the remaining states to discharge these obligations? Suppose all the states should secede but one; would that one remaining state be responsible for the debts incurred by the Federal Government of which it was now the sole remainder? Suppose the one remaining state decided to secede, who then would remain responsible for the obligations incurred by the nation?

Avowedly his inaugural address was an appeal to the plain people. So also was Lincoln's first message to Congress. It was couched in language easily understood; but it was a very statesmanlike document, and one deserving at once the attention not only of Congress but of the people.

Lincoln also had in mind the border states, especially Kentucky. Virginia had gone over to secession, but Kentucky was keeping up the pretense of an armed neutrality. For the sake of the border states and also as an appeal to the loyal element in the seceded states he set forth his own purpose with respect to the southern states after the rebellion should be suppressed:

Lest there be some uneasiness in the minds of candid men as to what is to be the course of the government toward the Southern States after the rebellion shall have been suppressed, the executive deems it proper to say it will be his purpose then, as ever, to be guided by the Constitution and the laws; and that he probably will have no different understanding of the powers and duties of the Federal Government relatively to the rights of the States and the people, under the Constitution, than that expressed in the inaugural address.

He desires to preserve the government, that it may be administered for all as it was administered by the men who made it. Loyal citizens everywhere have the right to claim this of their government, and the government has no right to withhold or neglect it. It is not perceived that in giving it there is any coercion, any conquest or any subjugation, in any just sense of those terms.

The Constitution provides, and all the States have accepted the provision, that 'the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government.' But if a State may lawfully go out of the Union, having done so, it may also discard the republican form of government; so that to prevent its going out is an indispensable means to the end of maintaining the guarantee mentioned; and when an end is lawful and obligatory, the indispensable means to it are also lawful and obligatory.

It was with the deepest regret that the executive found the duty of employing the war power in defense of the government forced upon him. He could but perform this duty or surrender the existence of the government. No compromise by public servants could, in this case be a cure; not that compromises are not often proper, but that no popular government can long survive a marked precedent that those who carry an election can only save the government from immediate destruction by giving up

the main point upon which the people gave the election. The people themselves, and not their servants, can safely reverse their own deliberate decisions.

One important fact about this first message of Lincoln's to Congress must not be overlooked. It had virtually no reference to slavery. In this respect it was a decided contrast to the first inaugural. This fact disturbed the abolitionists, but did not rouse immediate criticism to any marked extent. It is to be noted, however, that from this time forward Lincoln was centering his thought upon his primary duty of saving the Union. How far he seemed to some of his associates to have departed from the principles laid down by him in his debate with Douglas, we shall have occasion later to consider. Whether Lincoln was conscious of it or not, this new emphasis on the Union was exactly in line with the suggestions in Seward's "Thoughts"—"Change the question before the public from one upon slavery, or about slavery, for a question upon Union or Disunion."

Congress assembled in a good temper and with a strong working majority on the side of the president. His appropriation proposals were fully met, and his requirements for troops were authorized. As yet the Republican Party had not seriously broken into factions. At this extraordinary session there was almost no ordinary legislation. Congress was in session twenty-nine working days, from July fourth to August sixth. Seventy-six public acts were passed, of which seventy-two bore directly upon the war.

At the same time, Congress can not be said to have had any adequate appreciation of the situation as it existed prior to the battle of Bull Run. Congress believed that that first battle would settle the whole problem. Not a few members of Congress drove across the Long Bridge and toward the front in their joyous anticipation of seeing the rebellion wiped off the map at a single stroke. These men returned to Washington sadder and wiser.

On the day following the battle of Bull Run, John J. Critten-

den, of Kentucky, rose to introduce a resolution in the House, and offered a resolution very different from the famous Crittenden Compromise. That Compromise had failed. Now he offered a very different resolution:

That the present, deplorable civil war had been forced upon the country by the Disunionists of the Southern States, now in arms against the constitutional government, and in arms around the capital; that in this national emergency, Congress, banishing all feelings of mere passion and resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of these States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war ought to cease.

The Crittenden Resolution was passed in both Houses; there was no debate, and virtually no opposition. Two members of the House of Representatives, however, refrained from voting. They were Thaddeus Stevens and Owen Lovejoy. In the Senate, five men did not vote for the resolution. One of these was Charles Sumner. The reason for their silence was, of course, that the resolution did not specify the overthrow of slavery as a main objective of the war. Mr. Crittenden still had manifestly in mind an appeal to the sentiment of Kentucky and the other slave states not yet in rebellion. Lincoln was in the fullest sympathy with that attitude of mind. He seemed to the extreme abolitionists to have forgotten entirely the anti-slavery issue.

At this first session, however, Congress began a series of legislative acts unfavorable to slavery. On August 6, 1861, a bill introduced by Senator Lyman Trumbull, became a law giving freedom to all slaves that had been employed by the Confederates in carrying on the war. A little later Owen Lovejoy introduced a resolution declaring that it was no part of the duty

of the soldiers of the United States to capture and return fugitive slaves. This passed the House by a large majority; and while it did not repeal the Fugitive Slave Law, it was a triumph for the man who two years before, in February, 1859, during his first term in Congress, had replied to the charge of southern Representatives that he was a "Nigger stealer":

"Yes, I do assist fugitives to escape. Proclaim it upon the housetops; write it upon every leaf that trembles in the forest; make it blaze from the sun at high noon, and shine forth in the radiance of every star that bedecks the firmament of God. Let it echo through all the arches of heaven, and reverberate and bel-
low through all the deep gorges of hell, where slavecatchers will be very likely to hear it. Owen Lovejoy lives at Princeton, Illinois, and he aids every fugitive that comes to his door and asks it. Thou invisible demon of slavery! Dost thou think to cross my humble threshold, and forbid me to give bread to the hungry and shelter to the homeless? I bid you defiance in the name of God."

Shortly after the assembly of Congress, December 2, 1861, Honorable Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan, introduced a resolution to appoint a committee of three to inquire into the conduct of the battle of Balls Bluff, and the reason for that disaster. He said that the defect had been attributed "to civilians, to politics, to everything but the right cause," and that it was "due to the Senate and the country, that the blame should rest where it belonged."

The motion prevailed, and Senator Chandler declining the chairmanship, Senator Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, was made chairman, with Senator Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan, and Senator Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, as his associates. The House of Representatives appointed as its members of the committee, David W. Gooch, of Massachusetts, John Covode, of Pennsylvania, George W. Julian, of Indiana, and Moses F. Odell, of New York.

This committee, having investigated the defeat of Balls Bluff,

and having agreed in its report that the disaster occurred through military incompetence, was not permitted to depart in peace. There was occasion soon to investigate the defeat at Bull Run, and from that time the committee was never without employment. Its membership changed somewhat, but it was dominated throughout by Wade and Chandler, two honest and uncompromising men, whose strong convictions were far from being always in accord with the views of the president. These men hated McClellan, and later came to dislike Meade. They thought Lincoln far too timid and given to compromise. Some authors have represented Lincoln as continually in conflict with the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, and at times it was so; but at other times the committee was of large assistance to him and to Secretary Stanton. This committee was in almost continuous session until March 4, 1865, when it was given ninety days to finish its work, its final report bearing date of May 22, 1865.

The Committee on the Conduct of the War was only one of the president's perplexities. So far as any question remained whether the president or Congress was master, Lincoln abated no jot of his contention. The president, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, must assume and maintain supreme command. But the press of the country was of many minds regarding Lincoln; and besides the war that he had to fight against the Confederates in front, he had to fight other battles with foes, open and secret, in his rear. Besides these were friends, some of them pretended and some real, and not all of them wise, whose efforts constantly embarrassed him. There were wars and rumors of wars; and Lincoln could have said with St. Paul, that his flesh had no rest; without were fightings and within were fears.

The Constitution recognized that in time of war it might be necessary to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*; but who had the right to declare a suspension of *habeas corpus*, and to hold suspected men and women in prison without trial? Was this re-

sponsibility vested in the Congress or in the president? Very largely the members of Lincoln's own party in Congress held that these powers belonged to Congress, but Lincoln assumed that they belonged to the executive. As the war proceeded, arrests grew frequent, and the Federal prisons in Washington and elsewhere filled with men and women who were unable to secure through the civil courts their constitutional peace-time right of trial. Was this arbitrary power one which the constitution intended to lodge with the president? If so, what was the Government of the United States but a military despotism? This question was asked by newspapers and orators in many parts of the country; and it was asked very insistently by certain members of Congress.

There is no way to wage a war gently. Washington was full of Confederate spies, and many of them escaped detection and arrest in spite of the powers assumed by the president. But the president believed that these powers, in time of war, must belong to the commander-in-chief of the army; that is, to the president. Congress could not well exercise this function, nor did Lincoln believe that the Constitution recognized Congress as capable of its exercise; but this opinion of the president was not popular in Congress, nor yet among the Copperheads. President Lincoln had before him a long and hard fight concerning the areas of power which the government does not assume in time of peace, nor definitely locate in time of war. Lincoln was a cautious man, but such power as he believed was necessary to the conduct of the war, he assumed; and in time there was loud wailing in protest in Congress.

If Lincoln ever replied to these criticisms we do not know it. Certain distinguished lawyers wrote briefs defending the president's assumption of extraordinary powers in war times, and some of his strong supporters in Congress gave utterance to views so fully in accord with the position which Lincoln assumed, that some authors believe their addresses to have been inspired by Lincoln. Senator Browning, on March 10, 1862,

delivered an address which one brilliant biographer of Lincoln is confident "Surely was inspired—or if not directly inspired, so close a reflection of the president's thinking that it comes to the same thing in the end."* But the remarkable fact is that neither Browning nor any other of the defenders of Lincoln claimed Lincoln's authority for their utterances. At the time when Browning delivered this address, he was calling at the White House almost daily, but did not record in his *Diary* any intimation that what he said on this subject was suggested by the president or that the president thanked him for it.

Lincoln all this time was keeping in close touch with those members of both Houses who could best interpret his spirit to Congress, but no one of these men had the comfortable feeling that he was the president's spokesman.

On the whole, Congress supported the president, and the legislation of the long session was intended to be in accord with his plans. But still he knew that there was a deep-seated occasion of difference between him and the law-making body, and he intended to retain all his powers under the Constitution, and in addition to hold to those that he deemed necessary to him as commander-in-chief of the army.

Lincoln seldom made a pun, a fact which is mentioned elsewhere in this work. He made one toward the end of the first session of Congress. A member of the opposition called upon him, and somewhat testily commented on the fact that the welfare of the negro had had so large a place in the discussions of that session. He said, "Mr. President, we have had Nigger served to us three times a day regularly, dished up in every possible style." Lincoln had learned a new culinary term. He knew about roast chicken, and boiled chicken, and especially about fried chicken, but he had had occasion to learn a new French way of serving that familiar bird. When he was told of the monotony of a diet of Nigger, and of the styles in which

*Professor N. W. Stephenson, in *Lincoln*, p. 216.

it had been served to Congress, he said, "The principal style, I think, was *free-cuss-ee*."

When Congress adjourned, and Lincoln saw the members departing, he chuckled, and said:

"In 1831, I went to New Orleans on a flat-boat, and we tied up for a day at Alton. The gate of the State Prison opened, and a group of men came out. I inquired who they were and where they were going, and I was told that they were a lot of thieves, going home. They had served their time!"

CHAPTER VII

LINCOLN AND MC CLELLAN

THE battle of Bull Run made one fact ominously plain; the army must have a younger commanding officer than General Scott. Able and experienced as he was, he was not in condition to fight in the field; and the army needed a visible head. General Scott remained first in command; but Lincoln must already have convinced himself that a younger man must assume the active leadership; and he thought he knew the man.

On the day after the battle of Bull Run, Lincoln summoned General George B. McClellan to Washington. He arrived on the twenty-eighth of July. On the day before his arrival Lincoln appointed him commander of the Army of the Potomac.

McClellan at this time was thirty-four years old. He was in full physical vigor and of fine appearance and bearing. He was a West Point graduate of the class of 1846. He had distinguished himself under General Scott in the Mexican War. He entered the war at the age of nineteen, with the rank of second lieutenant, having recently graduated from West Point; he emerged with the brevet rank of captain, and had won his promotion by undoubted gallantry on the field of battle. When Jefferson Davis was secretary of war in 1855, he sent Captain McClellan to Europe to study army organization, and McClellan was with the British Army during the siege of Sebastopol. After the war he had a varied and successful career. He was for a time chief engineer of the Illinois Central Railroad Company, and later its vice-president. In that capacity he met Abraham Lincoln in connection with certain litigation of the company. In later years he recalled that acquaintance:

More than once I have been with him in out-of-the-way county-seats where some important case was being tried, and, in the lack of sleeping accommodations, have spent the night in front of a stove listening to the unceasing flow of anecdotes from his lips. He was never at a loss for a story, and I could never make up my mind how many of them he had really heard before, and how many he invented on the spur of the moment. His stories were seldom refined, but were always to the point.

McClellan was far from being a partisan of Lincoln in his campaign against Douglas. On the contrary, Douglas traveled in McClellan's private car, and Lincoln rode on regular trains.

The early military record of General McClellan was one of success. At the outbreak of the war he was commissioned a major general in command of the Department of the Ohio. In a series of engagements in Western Virginia he was notably successful. Any Union success at that time was vastly encouraging. McClellan's victories were not large, but they were decisive; and he himself turned them to good account in a series of well-phrased proclamations which he issued from a portable printing press.

It is not remarkable that the country made McClellan its first military idol. No one of the generals who came earlier to public notice combined in anything like the same degree such elements for popularity. He was handsome, he was well educated, he had a record of success. On horseback he appeared to good advantage. His features, his pose, his military bearing all combined to win for him an admiration and affection bordering upon idolatry.

Furthermore, he was a man of integrity and of deep religious feeling. In his private life he was as pure as Sir Galahad. He possessed a rare power of inspiring confidence and devotion. Of all the tragedies of the Civil War, and they were not few, there is none that fills the student with keener sorrow than that of this brilliant officer. He seemed not only by far the best man whom Lincoln could have chosen, but a man especially raised up to meet the nation's need.

If Lincoln remembered having met McClellan in the days of his debates with Douglas—and it would seem that he must have remembered him—he could not have forgotten that, although he was attorney for the railroad of which McClellan was then the managing vice-president, he had ridden over that road throughout the campaign with entire lack of such courtesies as McClellan provided for Douglas. Had Lincoln been a man who cherished resentments, some annoying memories must have occurred to him. Lincoln was not naturally inclined to take notice of slights of this character; they made little impression on him, and to that extent he may deserve less credit than a more sensitive man. But it is equally true, and for this Lincoln deserves the highest credit, that in so far as he noticed personal slights or annoyances, he does not appear ever to have permitted personal resentment to influence his sense of duty to the public good. Had he commented on McClellan's conduct in those days, he probably would have said that the Illinois Central Railway, in permitting him to travel on a pass, was doing its full duty by him as one of the attorneys of the road; and that if Captain McClellan chose, on grounds of personal or political friendship, to do more than that for Douglas, that was his privilege. Lincoln is not known ever to have commented on this discrimination; much less did he permit it to influence him in his selection of a general to command the armies between Washington and Richmond.

What McClellan might have done had he possessed executive ability as well as organizing power, we do not know. At the best his task would not have been an easy one. At this time there were pouring into Washington large numbers of men, but they did not constitute an army. They were raw, undisciplined and unsoldierly. McClellan was well able to drill them, and it was believed that he was capable of commanding them, but the country's faith in his leadership was destined to repeated and heart-breaking disappointments.

When McClellan took command of the Army of the Potomac

there were in and about the city of Washington according to his own reports about "50,000 infantry, less than 1,000 cavalry and 650 artillerymen with nine imperfect field batteries of thirty pieces." On October twenty-seventh, three months after General McClellan took command, he reported for the army under him an aggregate strength of 168,318 men, of whom there were present for duty 147,695. The adjutant general three days later made a report for the Army of the Potomac showing a total army of 198,238, of whom 116,737 were present and available for duty.

For a time McClellan was in high spirits. His indiscreet biographer, endeavoring to show how unjustly McClellan had been treated, gave to the world McClellan's confidential letters to his wife. He arrived in Washington July 26, 1861, and assumed command on the following day. His first letter to his wife says:

I find myself in a new and strange position here; President, cabinet, General Scott and all deferring to me. By some strange operation of magic I seem to have become the power of the land.

On July thirtieth he wrote:

They give me my way in everything, full swing and unbounded confidence. Who would have thought when we were married that I should so soon be called upon to save my country?

A few days later he wrote:

I shall carry this thing on *en grand*, and crush the rebels in one campaign.

On August ninth he wrote:

I would cheerfully take the dictatorship and agree to lay down my life when the country was saved.

To make sure that his wife understood how fully he retained

his modesty in all this recognition of his own importance, he said: "I am not spoiled by my unexpected new position."

McClellan combined in himself a strange admixture of confidence in himself and distrust of his resources. His faith in his own ability and of the importance attaching to his personality was almost pathetic; but with it he cherished an amazing inability to appreciate the strength of the army under him, while invariably multiplying the strength of the army opposed to him.

Lincoln at the beginning appears to have shared fully McClellan's own high estimate of his own ability. "I will hold McClellan's horse for him if he will win victories," said Lincoln. McClellan on his part could find no higher praise for Lincoln than this, "The president is honest and means well."

As for General Scott, McClellan counted him only a stupid old meddler, forgetting that at the time he was General Scott's subordinate. McClellan's habitual reference to him in his letters to his wife is in terms like these: "The old General always comes in the way. He understands nothing, appreciates nothing."

In McClellan's mind, everybody else was in his way; nobody understood anything or appreciated anything. He condemned as stupid meddlers or wilful obstructionists the army officials, the politicians and the president, while always magnifying the force in front of him. At a time when the opposing Confederate force was perhaps one-fourth as large as his own, he wrote to his wife:

I am here in a terrible place. The enemy has from three to four times my force. The President, the old General, cannot or will not see the true state of affairs.

At a time when Lincoln was bending all his energies to help McClellan he could write:

I have a set of men to deal with unscrupulous and false. The people think me all powerful. Never was there a greater mistake. I am thwarted and deceived by these incapables at every turn.

McClellan's enemies have been many; but his worst accusers are his own letters.

It is not surprising that McClellan found no one in Washington sufficiently great to command his respect. He found in the Cabinet "some of the greatest geese I have ever seen—enough to tax the patience of Job." He found it "sickening in the extreme" to "see the weakness and unfitness of the poor beings who control the destinies of this great country."

The president he held in undisguised contempt. He formed the habit of hiding at Stanton's house, "to dodge all enemies in the shape of browsing presidents." Stanton at this time did not conceal his own scorn of the president. McClellan did not long continue to respect Stanton's judgment in anything else, and Stanton before long lost his respect for McClellan, but so long as these two agreed in anything, they were agreed in their hostility to Lincoln.

It was inevitable that before long there would be misunderstandings between General McClellan and his superior officer, General Scott. On August eighth, 1861, McClellan wrote a letter to General Scott in which he stated that he was impelled by a sense of duty to tell General Scott how inadequate were the defenses of Washington. General Scott considered this letter offensive. He wrote to the secretary of war calling attention to the stream of irregulars pouring into the city, and complaining of the insubordination of this young junior officer. For two months the friction between the two generals grew. At length, on October twenty-first, General Scott sent to the secretary of war the following letter of resignation:

For more than three years I have been unable, from a hurt, to mount a horse or to walk more than a few paces at a time, and that with much pain. Other and new infirmities—dropsy and vertigo—admonish me that repose of mind and body, with the appliances of surgery and medicine, are necessary to add a little more to a life already protracted much beyond the usual life of man. It is under such circumstances, made doubly painful by

the unnatural and unjust rebellion now raging in the Southern States of our so late prosperous and happy Union, that I am compelled to request that my name be placed on the list of army officers retired from active service. As this request is founded on an absolute right granted by a recent act of Congress, I am entirely at liberty to say that it is with deep regret that I withdraw myself, in these momentous times, from the orders of a President who has treated me with distinguished kindness and courtesy, whom I know among such personal intercourses to be patriotic, without sectional partialities or prejudices, to be highly conscientious in the performance of every duty, and of unrivalled activity and perseverance. And to you, Mr. Secretary, I beg to acknowledge my many obligations for the uniform high consideration I have received at your hands.

General Scott's resignation was accepted. He retired with high honor, the president and Cabinet waiting on him in person to present him the thanks of the country for his long and illustrious service. Immediately Lincoln appointed McClellan commander-in-chief of the Army of the United States. The president called personally at McClellan's headquarters in order to congratulate him. McClellan received him with less condescension than on some other occasions. "I should feel perfectly satisfied," said President Lincoln, "if I thought that this vast increase of responsibility would not embarrass you." He had not long to wait for his satisfaction. McClellan assured him that, far from being embarrassed, he was greatly relieved.

This was on the night of November 1, 1861, and from that time on the president and country waited for McClellan to win the one great victory which he was sure would settle the fate of the Confederacy. McClellan, however, did not move. He was busy shifting to other shoulders than his own the blame for the skirmish at Ball's Bluff which occurred on October twenty-first and ended in a Union loss of 49 men killed, 158 wounded and 694 missing, against a Confederate loss of 36 killed and 117 wounded. This engagement, which appears insignificant in comparison with later battles, was notable at the time. It was an-

other though a smaller Bull Run. It resulted in the retirement in disgrace and imprisonment of General Stone, whose severe punishment is believed to have been unmerited, and it brought again a deep sense of personal sorrow to the White House by reason of the death of Colonel Edward D. Baker, Lincoln's long time personal friend.

John Hay made this entry in his diary on November 13, 1861:

I wish here to record what I regard a portent of evil to come. The President, Governor Seward and I went over to McClellan's house tonight. The servant at the door said the General was at the wedding of Colonel Wheaton at General Buell's and would soon return. We went in and after we had waited about an hour McClellan came in, and without paying any attention to the porter who told him the President was waiting to see him, went up stairs, passing the door where the President and the Secretary of State were seated. They waited about half an hour, and sent once more a servant to tell the General they were there; and the answer came that the General had gone to bed.

I merely record this unparalleled insolence of epaulettes without comment. It is the first indication I have seen of the threatened supremacy of the military authorities.

Mr. Hay did not at the time regard this incident of particular significance as manifesting McClellan's own feelings toward the president; to Hay it then seemed a possible portent of evil as showing what the military authorities might, as a group, come to assume. It is safe to say that after all allowances had been made for military arrogance, of which many generals had their full share, there never was another general in the Union Army who could possibly thus have treated the president of the United States.

In January, 1862, Lincoln endeavored to impress McClellan with the importance of a forward movement. The country was growing restive; the president was under severe criticism. His arguments met with no response. On Washington's birthday President Lincoln ordered a general forward movement. This

also, McClellan ignored. Lincoln grew almost desperate; he had desired McClellan to advance to Manassas. McClellan did not do so. But when on March ninth it became known that the Confederates had evacuated Manassas, McClellan marched his army there and then back again. This performance brought ridicule upon him and deep disappointment and chagrin to Lincoln.

Let us endeavor to do justice to McClellan. He was placed at the head of a large and increasing body of men, but he did not command an army. The first seventy-five thousand had enlisted impulsively in full confidence that ninety days was more than adequate for the purpose of their soldiering. He knew that the war must be won with men who had some discipline, and very few even of his officers realized what that discipline would involve. McClellan was an effective drill-master. He knew the value of military organization. He did not intend to have any more battles like that of Bull Run. Most well informed officers sympathized with him. But the country was restless and eager for a battle that would bring final victory.

On September ninth, McClellan reckoned his army at 85,000 effective men, and was sure the Confederates had 150,000. Month by month he increased his estimate of the forces opposed to him. Late in the autumn he had "a gross aggregate force of 168,318," with 147,695 present for duty, and he was sure the Confederates greatly outnumbered him. As a matter of fact, the Confederate Army confronting him numbered 41,000.

In December, 1861, the Congress created its Committee on the Conduct of the War. It was a committee of civilians charged with the heavy responsibility of passing judgment on military matters in which none of them were expert. McClellan did not conceal his displeasure, nor can he be blamed for his resentment.

Soon after this, on January 11, 1862, Secretary Cameron resigned his portfolio of the War Department, and was succeeded by Edwin M. Stanton, a warm personal and political friend of McClellan; but he and McClellan soon quarreled, and from that time forth were mutually hostile.

Mr. Lincoln's patience with McClellan in this trying situation can but astonish any thoughtful student. McClellan's letters to his wife display an egotism that is amazing, and a contempt for the president most ill-becoming in a general of the army. Lincoln was cautious. By all his traits of character he was disposed to carry caution to the extreme, but his caution was not to be mentioned beside McClellan's. McClellan was fertile in discovering reasons why he could not do anything. The enemies invariably outnumbered his forces beyond any hope of his winning a victory. His army was never in a condition to move; never strong enough for the work expected of it. Lincoln now and then wished that General McClellan would lend him his army if he had no plan to use it himself. Once when McClellan told him that he could not move because the army was resting, Lincoln indulged in sufficient sarcasm to ask just what he had done that should have tired any of them.

The year went by, and McClellan had done nothing worth speaking about. The spring of 1862 came, and on April third the president ordered the secretary of war to direct General McClellan "to commence his forward movement from his new base at once."

To this McClellan replied two days later, "The enemy are in large force along our front; their works formidable."

He felt sure that he would have to fight the whole Confederate Army. The official reports of General Magruder show that he had only eleven thousand men with which to oppose McClellan's one hundred thousand. And he was surprised that day after day went by and McClellan did not move. McClellan, however, was waiting for reenforcements, and Lincoln answered very kindly but firmly:

I suppose the whole force which has gone forward to you, is with you by this time, and if so, I think that it is the precise time for you to strike a blow. By delay, the enemy will relatively gain upon you—that is, he will gain faster by fortifications and re-enforcements than you can by re-enforcements alone; and

once more let me tell you, it is indispensable to you that you strike a blow. I am powerless to help this. You will do me the justice to remember I always insisted that going down the bay in search of a field, instead of fighting near Manassas, was only shifting, not surmounting the difficulty. . . . The country will not fail to note—and it is now noting—that the present hesitation to move upon an intrenched enemy, is but the story of Manassas repeated. I beg to assure you I have never written . . . in greater kindness, nor with a fuller purpose to sustain you, so far as in my most anxious judgment I consistently can. *But you must act.*

April and May went by and nothing was done. On June 21, 1862, McClellan desired to leave the army and come to Washington and lay before the president his views "as to the present state of military affairs throughout the whole country." Under other circumstances Lincoln might have been interested in McClellan's views, but he replied good-naturedly and with a little sting of irony, "If it would not divert your time and attention from the army under your command, I should be glad to hear your views on the present state of military affairs throughout the whole country."

On June twenty-seventh, after some minor and unsuccessful engagements, McClellan announced his intention to move, but not to move forward. He ordered a retreat to the James River, and he sent to the secretary of war an insulting letter saying, "If I save this army, I tell you plainly, I owe no thanks to you, nor to any one at Washington. You have done your best to destroy this army."

Not content with this astounding letter, McClellan a few days later wrote a long communication to the president giving him paternal advice on matters relating to the government, civil no less than military.

Thus one opportunity after another was neglected by McClellan, and the army under his command marched and counter-marched and arrived nowhere, fought skirmishes and retreated, when it should have fought battles and advanced. He waited

for reenforcements while losing men through inaction, and suffering constantly through loss of courage and loss of what we have learned to call morale.

Early in July, 1862, Lincoln reached the conclusion that the command of the armies defending Washington and organized for an attack on Richmond must devolve on some commander capable of action. General Henry W. Halleck was in the West, and in spite of a cantankerous disposition had proved a successful organizer, and either he or men under him, including one man named Grant, whom Halleck greatly disliked, had been winning victories. Lincoln, on July 11, 1862, issued an order:

That Major-General Henry W. Halleck be assigned to command the whole land forces of the United States as general-in-chief, and that he repair to this capital as soon as he can with safety to the positions and operations within the department under his charge.

McClellan still commanded the Army of the Potomac, but Halleck was above him in authority, a fact little to McClellan's liking.

On July 14, 1862, General John Pope, son of Judge Nathaniel Pope, of Illinois, was placed in charge of the Army of Virginia, consisting of three army corps. Pope came from a successful career in the West, and had the bad taste to tell of it when assuming command. He said:

I have come to you from the West, where we have always seen the backs of our enemies; from an army whose business it has been to seek an adversary, and beat him when found; whose policy has been attack and not defense. In but one instance has the enemy been able to place our Western armies in a defensive attitude. I presume I have been called here to pursue the same system, and to lead you against the enemy. It is my purpose to do so, and that speedily. I am sure you long for an opportunity to win the distinction you are capable of achieving; that opportunity I shall endeavor to give you. In the meantime, I desire you to dismiss certain phrases I am sorry to find in vogue amongst you.

I hear constantly of taking strong positions and holding them—of lines of retreat and bases of supplies. Let us discard such ideas. The strongest position a soldier should desire to occupy is one from which he can most easily advance against the enemy. Let us study the probable line of retreat of our opponents, and leave our own to take care of itself. Let us look before us and not behind. Success and glory are in the advance—disaster and shame lurk in the rear. Let us act on this understanding, and it is safe to predict that your banners shall be inscribed with many a glorious deed, and that your names will be dear to your countrymen forever.

Pope quickly incurred the ill will of McClellan, and when, in August, Pope joined battle with the enemy, McClellan did not send FitzJohn Porter to support his advance or cover his retreat. On August ninth General Halleck telegraphed McClellan:

I am of the opinion that the enemy is massing his forces in front of Generals Pope and Burnside, and that he expects to crush them, and move forward to the Potomac. You must send re-enforcements instantly to Acquia Creek. Considering the amount of transportation at your disposal, your delay is not satisfactory. You must move with all possible celerity!

McClellan did not move. On the following day Halleck telegraphed that General Pope was fighting and needed help, and said:

There *must be no further delay* in your movements. That which has already occurred was entirely unexpected and must be satisfactorily explained.

On the twenty-first of August Halleck again telegraphed McClellan that the forces of Burnside and Pope were being hard pushed and needed immediate aid. McClellan on the evening of the twenty-third started in leisurely fashion, and four days later, when it was far too late, reached Alexandria. McClellan might have saved Pope's crushing defeat. One of his generals, Fitz-John Porter, was court-martialed and dismissed for not coming to Pope's rescue.

After the defeat of General Pope, Lincoln and Halleck personally called on McClellan, and placed him in complete command of the forces about Washington. If we judge from McClellan's letter to his wife written that very day, the interview contained no intimation that the president was in a panic. Writing on the day of his interview, September 2, 1862, he said:

I was surprised this morning, when at breakfast, by a visit from the President and Halleck, in which the former expressed the opinion that the troubles now impending could be overcome better by me than by any one else. Pope is ordered to fall back upon Washington, and as he reenters everything is to come into my command again.

In his home letters McClellan never missed an opportunity to tell his wife how great a man he was and how superior to all other men in the situation. We may be sure that this letter told essentially what occurred and there is no evidence whatever, apart from his own long subsequent testimony, that would lead us to suppose that the president was in mortal fear that Washington was lost.

Many years afterward, when McClellan wrote his book, his memory of the incident was that the president and Halleck had both believed that Washington was doomed to capture, and that McClellan was the one calm and unterrified man in Washington:

He (the president) then said that he regarded Washington as lost, and asked me if I would, under the circumstances, as a favor to him, resume command and do the best that could be done. Without one moment's hesitation, and without making any conditions whatever, I at once said that I would accept the command and would stake my life that I would save the city. Both the President and Halleck again asserted that it was impossible to save the city, and I repeated my firm conviction that I could and would save it. They then left, the President verbally placing me in entire command of the city and of the troops falling back upon it from the front.

This story, which McClellan did not relate until years afterward, undergoes still greater expansion in the account written, on McClellan's authority, by George Ticknor Curtis:

"Will you," asked Mr. Lincoln, in his distress, "Will you, dare you, take command in this dangerous crisis?" The peril was instantly assumed by McClellan, without a thought concerning himself. That he did not stipulate for a written order shows how little he was considering his own safety.

Possibly so; and it is equally possible that there is no written order because the thing did not happen in that fashion. Lincoln had been dead a long time before McClellan told the world how all Washington was in terror and Lincoln in hysterics and McClellan the only calm and brave man in Washington. At least four men who were then seeing Lincoln almost daily were keeping diaries, and neither John Hay nor O. H. Browning nor Salmon P. Chase nor Gideon Welles represents the president in any such state of terror.

We know that Lincoln's appointment of McClellan at that crisis was strongly opposed by a majority of the Cabinet, who had no assurance that McClellan was the only man who could save the capital from the Confederates. Doubtless Lincoln was troubled, but we are quite sure we know his reasons for giving the command to the more than willing McClellan. First was the fact that he believed McClellan was capable, and he hoped had learned his lesson. Second was the fact that the soldiers still believed in him. And third was the fact that Lincoln was afraid McClellan would not support any other leader.

It is not strange that in after years McClellan saw himself in that dark hour the one supremely brave and confident man, calmly assuring the terrified president that he, McClellan, would stake his own head on his ability to save the capital. But we know that there were men in and about Washington in those days as timid as McClellan charged the president with having been. One man, an officer in the army, wrote to his wife:

I do not regard Washington as safe against the rebels. If I can quietly slip over there I will send your silver off.

It will certainly interest the reader to know that the brave man who wrote and signed this letter was Major General George B. McClellan.

For a considerable time Lincoln bore, without appearing to notice it, McClellan's discourtesy and thinly veiled scorn. At no time does Lincoln appear to have taken into account McClellan's personal incivility. But Lincoln was losing patience with McClellan's failures to achieve a victory. Especially did Lincoln resent McClellan's failure to cooperate with Pope. General Halleck took command of all the armies on July 23, 1862. He and McClellan utterly failed to agree. When Pope started forth on his campaign from which so much was hoped, he warned the president, according to Chase, that he could not safely command the Army of Virginia if his success was to depend on the cooperation of McClellan. When Pope made his humiliating mistake, and McClellan left him "to get out of his own scrape," the president lost very nearly all the patience he had left.

McClellan was not tried as Porter was, for deliberately failing to support Pope. But on August twenty-ninth, when General Pope was being driven, McClellan, still inactive, telegraphed the president:

I am clear that one of two courses should be adopted: First, to concentrate all our available forces to open communication with Pope. Second, to leave Pope to get out of his scrape and at once use all means to make the capital perfectly safe. No middle course will now answer. Tell me what you wish me to do, and I will do all in my power to accomplish it. I wish to know what my orders and authority are. I ask for nothing, but will obey whatever order you give. I only ask a prompt decision, that I may at once give the necessary orders. It will not do to delay longer.

This was an astonishing message to have followed such a

series of imperative orders as McClellan had been receiving for weeks. Manifestly, his inclination now was to leave Pope to get out of his scrape if he could. Indeed, by that time it was almost necessary thus to leave him, for Pope's broken army was no longer in condition to protect the capital.

Thus was Pope's army crushed, Porter disgraced and the country disheartened. And still McClellan did not move.

By this time, Stanton, who had been McClellan's warm friend, had become his most pronounced critic and relentless enemy. After the defeat of Pope, Stanton was furious. John Hay's diary says:

Stanton was loud about the McClellan business. Was unqualifiedly severe on McClellan. He said that after these battles there should be one court martial if never any more. He said that nothing but foul play could lose us this battle, and that it rested with McClellan and his friends. Stanton seemed to believe very strongly in Pope. So did the President, for that matter.

Seward, also, according to Hay, was bitterly sad about McClellan's apparent betrayal of Pope. Seward met Hay, and spoke of himself as old, and much saddened that he should have lived to discover the rancor of military jealousy. Hay records:

I said it never should have seemed possible to me that one American General should write of another to the President, suggesting that Pope be allowed to get out of his own scrape in his own way. He answered, "I don't see why you should have expected it. You are not old. I should have known it." He said this slowly and sadly.

In John Hay's diary is recorded a conversation which occurred between the president and his secretary on their morning ride from the Soldiers' Home to the White House on Saturday August 30, 1862:

The President is very outspoken in regard to McClellan's

present conduct. He said it really seemed to him that McClellan wanted Pope defeated. He mentioned to me a dispatch of McClellan's in which he proposed as our plan of action "to leave Pope to get out of his own scrape, and devote ourselves to securing Washington." He spoke also of McClellan's dreadful panic in the matter of the Chain Bridge which he had ordered blown up the night before; and also his incomprehensible interference with Franklin's corps which he recalled when they had been sent ahead by Halleck's order, begged permission to recall them again, and only persisted after Halleck's sharp injunction to push them ahead until they whipped something or got whipped themselves. The President seemed to think him a little crazy. Envy, jealousy and spite are probably a better explanation of his present conduct.

It was charged against Lincoln afterward that by this time he had become intent upon making the war the occasion of the removal of slavery, that he did not wish the Confederates defeated at this time; and that the Federal losses, not only under Pope but later at Fredericksburg under Burnside and at Chancellorsville under Hooker, and even those under Meade at Gettysburg, were fairly to be charged to this policy. This is the theory suggested and virtually avowed by George Ticknor Curtis, the biographer of Buchanan, and eulogist of McClellan.* But this charge is not only not supported by the facts, but is squarely opposed to what, on indubitable evidence, we now know to have been Lincoln's attitude toward McClellan, toward slavery and toward the saving of the Union.

If the Confederate Army had appreciated the full value to them of their victory at Bull Run and of their subsequent gains, they might have pressed on and captured Washington. Fortunately for the Union cause then and later, the Confederates were nearly as much demoralized as were the Union troops, and felt themselves in no condition to follow up their advantage. Washington, however, continued in a state of perpetual alarm.

*See his scarce pamphlet, *McClellan's Last Service to the Public*, together with a *Tribute to His Memory*, published by Appleton in 1886.

It was filled with Confederate spies and was at times within cannon shot of the Confederate outposts. General Halleck was not unmindful of the value to the Union which the capture of Richmond would involve; but he knew well that the Confederates could well afford at any moment to exchange Richmond for Washington. The seat of the Confederate Government was of no long standing, and having once been removed from Montgomery to Richmond, might be removed from Richmond to some other city, not indeed without loss but without irreparable loss. The capture of Washington, however, would have been a disaster beyond all computation. Its capture would almost certainly have been followed promptly by the recognition of the Confederacy by both England and France. It is quite possible that the Confederate Government itself would have been transferred from Richmond to Washington. The capture of Washington was a possibility so appalling that neither Halleck nor Lincoln could contemplate it with any degree of comfort. McClellan rested in his fatuous conviction that one successful battle fought by him would destroy the Confederate Army and end the Confederate Government. He is not to be blamed for desiring to be fully prepared for that battle. He demanded that all other interests be subordinated to the building up of his one great army. There was no disposition on Lincoln's part to deny to McClellan any reenforcements which the government could possibly spare to him; but it was felt most earnestly that a sufficient body of troops should be held in reserve for the protection of Washington.

We shall have occasion to consider McClellan's character and conduct again when we come to the battle of Antietam, and again when we come to the presidential campaign of 1864. For the present it is enough to remember that after the failure of Pope, McClellan resumed command, and that he fought and won at Antietam his first and only notable victory after his first successes in western Virginia.

CHAPTER VIII

LINCOLN AND STANTON

LINCOLN had accepted, with such grace as he could, Simon Cameron as secretary of war. On January 14, 1862, Cameron resigned this position. Lincoln made no pretense of regret when he accepted Cameron's resignation. He appointed Cameron Minister to Russia. The reason that was permitted to be given to the public was a difference of opinion which existed between the president and secretary of war concerning the arming of men who had been slaves. Cameron's report at the end of 1861 virtually committed the War Department to that policy, and Lincoln, so it was said, "was not prepared to permit a member of his Cabinet, without his consent, to commit the administration to so radical a policy at so early a date." This is the explanation given by John G. Nicolay. But a much more serious reason might have been given, which was that personal friends and political associates of the secretary of war were charged with profiting through dishonorable contracts, by means of which the government was robbed for their financial profit. Whatever the truth of the matter, the resignation of Cameron was very willingly accepted. He continued, however, a warm friend and supporter of Lincoln.

When Cameron resigned there was a strong demand upon Lincoln that others of his Cabinet be dismissed. It was felt that, as Lincoln had asserted himself in that one instance, the time was favorable for his removing some other members who were more or less unpopular. There were even those who advocated an entire new Cabinet. Certain Republican senators

earnestly advised him to make a clean sweep, and select seven new men, and so restore the waning confidence of the country.

The president listened with patient courtesy, and when the senators had concluded, he said, with a characteristic gleam of humor in his eye:

"Gentlemen, your request for a change of the whole Cabinet because I have made one change reminds me of a story I once heard in Illinois, of a farmer who was much troubled with skunks. His wife insisted on his trying to get rid of them.

"He loaded his shotgun one moonlight night and awaited developments. After some time the wife heard the shotgun go off, and in a few minutes the farmer entered the house.

"What luck have you?" asked she.

"I hid myself behind the wood-pile," said the old man, "with the shotgun pointed toward the hen-roost, and before long there appeared not one skunk, but seven. I took aim, blazed away, killed one, and he raised such a fearful smell that I concluded it was best to let the other six go."

The senators laughed and departed, not questioning the president's logic.

At this time Lincoln called to the position made vacant by the resignation of Cameron, Edwin M. Stanton, a man of great industry and energy. He was no stranger to Lincoln. In 1855 they had met in Cincinnati in the McCormick Reaper case. Stanton is said to have described Lincoln as "a long lank creature from Illinois, wearing a dirty linen duster for a coat, on the back of which the perspiration had splotted wide stains that resembled a map of the continent." He did not permit Lincoln to plead in that case. Lincoln was humiliated and indignant. He said that no man had ever treated him as rudely as Stanton did.

Nothing can more finely illustrate Lincoln's lack of vindictiveness than his choice of Stanton as a member of his Cabinet. He knew that Stanton held him in contempt; that he was profane, abusive and a member of the Democratic Party. He had every

reason to believe that Stanton was a man in whose association he would have occasion to anticipate unhappy experiences; but Lincoln believed that Stanton was a man of courage, a man of integrity, a man of large organizing ability, and a man thoroughly loyal to his country. If it ever cost Lincoln a struggle to invite Stanton to this position, he never told of it.

Edwin M. Stanton was born at Steubenville, Ohio, December 19, 1814. He studied at Kenyon College, but did not graduate. He was admitted to the bar, and by industry and integrity he rose to a foremost position among the lawyers of his own state. In the Wheeling Bridge Case he established the principle of national sovereignty over all internal navigable waters, and by the Pennsylvania State Canal and Railway cases he settled the right of the people to control all methods of public transportation. He was sent to California to protect the interests of the Federal Government against an army of fraudulent claimants. An ardent Democrat, he accepted a position in Buchanan's Cabinet as attorney general when Jeremiah S. Black vacated that position to become secretary of state; and when John B. Floyd resigned his position as secretary of war to go with the South, Stanton succeeded him.

While secretary of war under Buchanan, Stanton entered into negotiations with the friends of the Union, and in the months that preceded the inauguration he may be said to have done more than any other one man in Washington, except Seward, to prevent a peaceable disruption of the Union. This loyalty to the Union did not, however, enhance his regard for Lincoln. He wrote to General John A. Dix concerning what he called "the imbecility of Lincoln." He habitually referred to Lincoln as a "gorilla." His criticism of Lincoln's first months as president was incessant and unsparing. He was McClellan's adviser and host at the time when McClellan was in virtual rebellion against Lincoln and General Scott. Several of McClellan's least admirable letters were written from Stanton's house.

Stanton entered the War Department with the declaration that

he would "make Abe Lincoln president." There is an impression that he undertook rather to make Edwin M. Stanton president. Yet it really was Stanton who induced Lincoln to assert the supremacy which the Constitution gave him as commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States. In a very real sense it was Stanton who stood for the authority of the president as over against the ambitions of Seward and Chase, each of whom was disposed to believe himself the president *de facto*. Of Stanton in his relations to the president might be said what was affirmed concerning the wife of the Reverend Doctor Syntax:

No tongue she suffered to dethrone
His reverent greatness but her own.

And, while Lincoln and Stanton can never be said to have been congenial friends, the relations of the same interesting couple might again be cited:

But they retained with all their pother
A sneaking fondness for each other.

There was that about Stanton which Lincoln unfeignedly liked, and there was that in Lincoln which Stanton was more and more compelled to admire.

Lincoln did more than tolerate Stanton, he profited largely by Stanton's presence in the Cabinet. It is difficult to see how Lincoln could possibly have spared him. Stanton was a terror to evil-doers. Corrupt contractors could neither bribe nor bully him. If Stanton now and then overruled Lincoln's judgment, the chances are fully even that in those particulars the judgment of Lincoln needed to be overruled; for there were times when Lincoln's judgment warped under pressure.

On one occasion a deputation waited on Stanton with an official order from the president, and Stanton flatly refused to obey the order.

"But we have the president's order," said the spokesman of the deputation.

"The president is a fool," blurted out Stanton.

Forthwith the delegation returned to the White House and gave to Lincoln a report of the conversation.

"Did Stanton say I was a fool?" inquired the president.

"He used that very word."

"Stanton is usually right," said Lincoln. "I will slip over and see him."

He did so, and Stanton convinced the president that the course he had intended to follow was inadvisable. The president accepted the judgment of his secretary.

On the other hand, there were times when Lincoln stood his ground and compelled Stanton to do the thing which he believed was right.

One thing Stanton did, which was to introduce another strong personality into the Cabinet—one who could hold his own against either Seward or Chase.

Cabinet meetings now are formal affairs, and each member has his assigned seat, its distance from the president being dependent on the time when that particular department first came to be represented in the Cabinet. But in Lincoln's day, meetings were very informal. Seward assumed his right to sit next the president, and that is where he would now be expected to sit; but sometimes the president thought Seward's assumption of authority did not seem to leave much responsibility for any one else. On September 16, 1862, Secretary Welles wrote:

At the Executive Mansion the Secretary of State informed me that there was to be no Cabinet meeting. He was authorized by the President to communicate the fact. Smith said it would be as well, perhaps, to postpone the Cabinet meetings altogether and indefinitely—there seemed no use latterly for our coming together. Others expressed corresponding opinions. Seward turned off, a little annoyed. An unfavorable impression is getting abroad in regard to the President and the administration,

not without reason, perhaps, which prompted Smith and others to express their minds freely. There is really very little of a Government here at this time, so far as the most of the Cabinet are concerned. Seward, when in Washington, spends more or less of each day with the President, absorbs his attention, and I fear to an extent influences his action, not always wisely. The President has good sense, intelligence, and an excellent heart, but he is sadly perplexed and distressed by events. . . . Seward seeks, and at times has, influence which is sometimes harmful. He is anxious to direct, to be Premier, the real executive.*

Welles came also to resent the usurpation of Stanton. On June 3, 1863, he wrote:

Stanton does not attend one half of the Cabinet meetings. When he comes he communicates little of importance. Not infrequently he has a private conference with the President in one corner of the room, or with Seward in the library. Chase, Blair and Bates have expressed their mortification and chagrin that things were so conducted.†

It is not certain that the world understands Stanton. His rough speeches and hot temper have been made a foil for Lincoln's considerate utterance and calm demeanor. There is good reason to believe that Stanton was a kinder and nobler man than has sometimes been represented. It is true that Stanton treated Lincoln with discourtesy at Cincinnati, and that Stanton is alleged to have said among other harsh things, that he had "met Lincoln at the bar, and found him a low, cunning clown.‡ It is true that Stanton sometimes refused to obey the president's orders; though there is some reason to believe that in these matters Lincoln and Stanton understood each other better than other men understood either of them.†† But it does not appear to be

**Diary*, i, pp. 131-3.

†*Diary*, i, p. 320.

‡Ben Perley Poore in *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time*, p. 223.

††See J. P. Usher in *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln*, etc., p. 100.

true that Stanton was cruel or wilfully unjust. Henry Ward Beecher, who knew him well, said:

"Stanton was as tender as a woman—he was tender as a lover."*

The candid student is forced to the conviction that more than once Stanton's sound judgment and unflinching courage saved the country from disaster. But Stanton is not to be reckoned among those who habitually opposed the president. There is good reason to believe that an understanding existed between them whereby Stanton had authority now and then to do what appeared like an overruling of the president's policies. In the Cabinet Stanton was one of Lincoln's habitual and emphatic supporters. He was from the beginning one of the two members of the Cabinet who believed in the emancipation of the slaves, and his pressure upon Lincoln was not without influence in inducing him to take that step.

Stanton filled the military prisons in and about Washington with men and women accused of disloyalty. It is more than possible that some men were imprisoned who did not deserve that fate; but broadly speaking no very large proportion of the population of the military prisons was sent to jail for being loyal or good.

Lincoln himself was accustomed to tell a story illustrative of the high virtue claimed by practically all people in prison. The governor of a certain state was visiting the state prison, and stopped to talk with a number of prisoners. They told him their story, and in every instance it was one of wrong suffered by an innocent person. The real criminal had always escaped, and the imprisoned man was the unfortunate victim of appearances or of conspiracy or perjury. There was one man, however, who admitted his crime and the justice of his sentence. "I must pardon you," said the governor, "I can't have you in here corrupting all these good men."

*See Henry Ward Beecher in *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln, etc.*, p. 252.

Stanton wore himself out in the service of his country. It was a service as unsparing of himself as it had been uncompromising of its demands upon others. Finally when the war was over and the great president had crowned his sacrifice with his own blood, it was Stanton who assumed the responsibility of the government during the hours before Andrew Johnson was in condition to be inaugurated. A few months later, Edwin M. Stanton, exhausted in body and mind and purse, having given to his country all he had of strength and wealth, and even of honor justly due him, lay down and died.

CHAPTER IX

THE TRENT AND THE MONITOR

IT HAS never been easy for Americans to forgive official Great Britain for her attitude toward the United States in the early days of the Civil War. The haste with which Great Britain and France recognized the Confederates as belligerents was in itself a disappointment, and this recognition, itself an unneighborly act on the part of both these nations, was followed by acts of aid and comfort to the Confederate forces which no pretense of neutrality, much less of friendship, could disguise. The readiness of Great Britain to give offense was equaled by her readiness to take offense. The delicacy of the relations between the two countries became painfully apparent in the Trent affair.

On November 8, 1861, Captain Charles Wilkes, commanding the United States steamer *San Jacinto*, halted the British royal mail steamship *Trent*, and removed from her James M. Mason and John Slidell, with their two secretaries, and took them to Boston where they were imprisoned in Fort Warren in Boston Harbor. Mason and Slidell were the accredited envoys of the Confederacy to England and France. They ran the blockade at Charleston in the autumn of 1861, and arrived at Havana. They announced their purpose to sail from there for Great Britain on the Steamer *Trent* on November seventh. On the following day Captain Wilkes compelled the *Trent* to halt as she was sailing through the Bahama Channel, and sent a force of marines on board to take off the emissaries of the Confederate Government. The *Trent* then proceeded upon her voyage.

This act on the part of Captain Wilkes was hailed with great

joy throughout the North. Secretary Welles wrote to Captain Wilkes a letter of congratulation, declaring that his conduct was marked by intelligence, ability, decision and firmness, and that it "had the emphatic approval of this department." Secretary Stanton also applauded the act.

Congress convened just at the time the interest in this matter was at its height. One of its first acts on the opening day of the session was to pass by unanimous consent a vote of thanks to Captain Wilkes. This resolution was introduced by Owen Lovejoy, and the House lost no time in placing the hot-headed resolution on its record.

Chittenden in his book of *Recollections*, asserts that Secretary Seward from the first disapproved the action; but Chittenden's recollections were sometimes very wide of the facts; Gideon Welles declares that Seward at the beginning was opposed to giving up the emissaries, but yielded when the demand of Great Britain became peremptory. Considering the attitude of Seward toward Great Britain as shown by his *Thoughts for the President's Consideration*, on April 1, 1861, in which he was then ready to go to war with Great Britain, Welles is more likely to be correct in this matter than Chittenden.

Whatever the attitude of others, there appears to be no doubt of Lincoln's view of the case. He had grave misgivings from the start concerning the right of Captain Wilkes to stop and search a British vessel on the high seas.

"I fear the traitors will prove to be white elephants," he said. "We must stick to American principles concerning the rights of neutrals. We fought Great Britain for insisting by theory and practice on the right to do exactly what Captain Wilkes has done. If Great Britain shall now protest against the act and demand their release, we must give them up, apologize for the act as a violation of our doctrines, and thus forever bind her over to keep the peace in relation to neutrals, and so acknowledge that she has been wrong for sixty years."

Meantime, Great Britain was working her navy yards night

and day in open and visible preparation for war against the United States. The British press flamed with denunciations of the American insult to the British Navy. At one time war seemed inevitable.

Mr. Frederick Seward, who was assistant to his father, maintained that it was Secretary Seward who at this juncture saved the country from a calamitous and unjustifiable war with Great Britain. Charles Francis Adams, the American Ambassador at the Court of St. James, agreed with him. But while high honor is due to Adams at this juncture, and some also to Seward, it appears to have been Lincoln's common sense and sound judgment which saved the day. All through the excitement he was calmly considering America's historic attitude toward the question of the right of search, and the practical way of saving America the necessity of a war with Great Britain. On Lincoln's advice and practically upon his decision that it must be done, the prisoners were returned to Great Britain. This act greatly strengthened America before the public sentiment of England.

"If reparation were made at all, of which few of us felt more than a hope," wrote John Stuart Mill, "we thought that it would be made obviously as a concession to prudence, not to principle. We thought that there would have been truckling to the newspaper editors and supposed fire-eaters who were crying out for retaining the prisoners at all hazards. . . . We expected everything, in short, which would have been weak, and timid, and paltry. The only thing which no one seemed to expect is what has actually happened. Mr. Lincoln's government have done none of these things. Like honest men they have said in direct terms that our demand was right; that they yielded to it because it was just; that if they themselves had received the same treatment, they would have demanded the same reparation; and if what seemed to be the American side of the question was not the just side, they would be on the side of justice, happy as they were to find after their resolution had been taken, that it was also the side which America had formerly defended. Is there any one capable of a moral judgment or feeling, who will say

that his opinion of America and American statesmen is not raised by such an act, done on such grounds?"

In the United States, however, there was no such unanimity of sentiment. The return of Mason and Slidell was denounced by many as an act of weakness on the part of the administration; and some who conceded the practical necessity of the act were grief stricken at the humiliation of it. Owen Lovejoy, who had always refused to be silent in his denunciation of the crime of slavery, spoke out hot words which many men deemed unwise, but whose sentiments very many people shared. He said:

"Every time this Trent affair comes up; every time that an allusion is made to it . . . I am made to renew the horrible grief which I suffered when the news of the surrender of Mason and Slidell came. I acknowledge it, I literally wept tears of vexation. I hate it; and I hate the British government. I have never shared in the traditionary hostility of many of my countrymen against England. But I now here publicly avow and record my inextinguishable hatred of that government. I mean to cherish it while I live, and to bequeath it as a legacy to my children when I die. And if I am alive when war with England comes, as sooner or later it must, for we shall never forget this humiliation, and if I can carry a musket in that war, I will carry it. I have three sons, and I mean to charge them, and I do now publicly and solemnly charge them, that if they shall have, at that time, reached the years of manhood and strength, they shall enter into that war."*

Senator Hale, of New Hampshire, went so far as to threaten the administration of Mr. Lincoln.

"If," said he, "this administration will not listen to the voice of the people, they will find themselves engulfed in a fire that will consume them like stubble: they will be helpless before a power that will hurl them from their places."*

Before many months, however, an event occurred which did

**Congressional Globe*, 2d Session 37th Congress, January 7, 1862, p. 177.

†*Congressional Globe*, 2d Session 37th Congress, p. 333.

much to strengthen the cause of the North in the sight of Great Britain, particularly with respect to the conflict to be waged on the ocean.

The navy yard at Norfolk, Virginia, had been captured by the Confederates. Among the other vessels which then fell into the hands of the enemy, was a war-ship named the *Merrimac*. The Confederates sheathed her sides with iron, and changed her name to the *Virginia*. She was finished in the spring of 1862, and on March seventh she sailed out of Norfolk Harbor. On the following day she sailed down the James River and attacked and destroyed two United States frigates, the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*. A third vessel, the *Minnesota*, was coming to the aid of the *Cumberland*, but ran around and lay at the mercy of the destroyer.

The cannon balls fired by these three vessels fell as harmlessly as peas upon the iron armor of the *Merrimac*. The only harm she suffered in this attack which lost the Union Navy two ships, and seemed to doom a third, was the damage done to her own prow when she rammed the *Cumberland*. She withdrew to her anchorage, and waited for another day on which she expected easily to finish the *Minnesota*.

On Sunday morning, March ninth, the *Virginia*, which is still known in literature as the *Merrimac*, moved triumphantly toward the *Minnesota*, never questioning that her wooden walls would be crushed by the first impact. Suddenly, from under the stern of the *Minnesota*, sailed a small nondescript craft and advanced to meet the *Merrimac*.

The *Monitor*, which was the name of this vessel, had been built in a Connecticut shipyard by an ingenious Swedish engineer, John Ericsson. She mounted two eleven-inch Dahlgren guns, each carrying a solid shot weighing one hundred and sixty-eight pounds. These guns were mounted in a revolving turret which stood upon the low deck only a few inches above the water line.

This absurd-looking craft emerged and interposed its ridicu-

lous bulk between the *Merrimac* and the *Minnesota*. Then ensued a battle the like of which had never been witnessed on the high seas. Close against each other the two ships exchanged their heaviest volleys, their iron rasping against iron. The battle between David and Goliath was enacted again between this mighty iron clad behemoth and the little "Yankee Cheesebox" floating upon its raft.

The *Merrimac* was not destroyed, but was so severely injured that she was compelled to withdraw to the shelter of the Norfolk navy yard, and there she lay, a useless and battered hulk, until the Confederates surrendered the yard, when she was destroyed.

The effect upon the country was marvelous. The news of the destruction of the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*, and of the certain doom of the *Minnesota*, had stricken the country with terror. It seemed as though every vessel in the Union Navy was doomed, and that Washington itself would soon be lying helpless under the guns of this invincible iron ship. The *Monitor* had been so hurriedly finished that the mechanics remained on board when she left New England for the Chesapeake. Her arrival was in the nick of time. She actually entered the harbor on the night before her battle by the light of the burning ship *Congress*. The country could hardly believe the glorious news which followed the Sunday battle. In a single day the whole aspect of the war upon the ocean was changed. No longer did Washington fear attack by water. No ship in the Confederate, or any other navy, could stand the shock of the *Monitor's* heavy guns. By the method of their mounting they could be quickly brought to bear upon any point of the compass; and the revolution of the turret permitted them to be loaded without exposing any open port to the fire of the enemy. The mourning of the nation over the loss of the *Cumberland* and *Congress* was changed in a single night to rejoicing.

If there was in Washington one man more happy than any other on the night when the *Monitor* had put the *Merrimac* out

of commission, it was Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy. He had believed in the *Monitor* when no one else, or few, thought her of much account. When the *Merrimac* had sunk the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*, the Cabinet feared she would steam straight up to Washington, and to New York. Welles assured them that she would not steam in both directions at once, and his calm, as he tells the story, did little to pacify them. They were inclined to hold him responsible for the disaster. He says:

The President himself ever after gave me the credit of being the most calm and self-possessed of any member of the Government. The President himself was so excited that he could not deliberate. . . . But the most frightened man on that gloomy day—the most so, I think, of any during the Rebellion—was the Secretary of War. He was at times almost frantic, and as he walked the room with his eyes fixed on me, I saw well the estimation in which he held me with unmoved and unexcited manner and conversation. . . . Stanton made some sneering inquiry about this new vessel, the *Monitor*, of which he admitted he knew little or nothing. I described her. . . . Stanton asked about her armament, and when I mentioned she had two guns, his mingled look of incredulity and contempt cannot be described. . . . I was not appalled by his terror or bluster. I more correctly read and understood his character in that crisis than he mine.*

With great satisfaction Welles records that this victory gave him new standing in the Cabinet, and that even Stanton treated him with less roughness than he habitually extended toward his other colleagues.

We recall the effect of the *Monitor's* victory on our relations with England and France, because it is necessary to remember them in this connection. France has been America's traditional friend from the beginning of our history. Whether she has ever been our friend, except when she had something to gain by the friendship, need not here be discussed. Certainly her friendship in the Revolution proves no more than that she thought the best way to harm England was to help free England's colonies,

**Diary*, i, pp. 63-4.

but she did not officially offer that help until she herself, and for quite other reasons, was at war with England. England is our friend, and increasingly so. The ties that bind together the English speaking races must be strengthened in every legitimate way. For that matter, all ties that unite all nations in friendship need to be strengthened. But it deserves also to be remembered, that, while the Union had many warm friends in France and especially in England during the Civil War, the official basis of that friendship was immensely strengthened by the new respect for the American Navy which both nations learned after the defeat of the *Merrimac*. The *Alabama* was still sailing the high seas, firing British-made shot from British-made guns into unarmed American vessels; but the victory of the *Monitor* was a mailed hand stretched across the sea for the grasp of a new friendship.

Russia was the Union's best friend during the Civil War. In 1867 William H. Seward negotiated a treaty with Russia by the terms of which the United States acquired the Territory of Alaska. For it the United States paid the sum of \$7,200,000, a sum that now seems very small. But it was then so large that it still remains a question how much of that sum was intended to pay for the territory and how much was to cover the expense of Russia's sending a fleet into New York harbor on a friendly visit, just at a time when the European nations that should have been our friends needed to be reminded that America, fighting for her national integrity and for human freedom, could find a friend, if not in England or France, then in despotic Russia. America still owes Russia something for friendship at a time when friends were fewer than America deserved.

CHAPTER X

THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM

BY THE end of 1861, it had become evident, both in the North and the South, that the struggle would be severe and long. In most of the actual battles the Confederates had had the advantage. The cheerful confidence of the Northern Army that it could subdue the South in ninety days was entirely gone. But the South itself had had time for very serious thought. Although the Confederates had been recognized as a belligerent, their government had not been acknowledged by any European nation. They had failed to hold Maryland, Kentucky or Missouri. In the West they had lost ground, and in the East they were on the defensive.

The first fighting of 1862 was in the West. General Ulysses S. Grant, who had already done some inconspicuous but successful campaigning, began that year with an advance, and captured Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. In this he was materially aided by a fleet of gunboats under the command of Commodore A. H. Foote. This was the first important victory on the Union side. Very soon, General George H. Thomas won a victory at Mill Springs, which with the victories of Grant, compelled the evacuation by the Confederate Armies of Kentucky and a considerable part of Tennessee. On April 6, 1862, Grant was attacked at Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh, on the Tennessee River, by General Albert Sidney Johnston. On the first day the Union Army was severely beaten, but on the second day the tide turned, and in the hour of victory reinforcements came under Buell, rendering

the Confederate defeat impossible to retrieve. Although the Union losses were larger than the Confederate, and Grant did not pursue the army, which he had repulsed, the Confederates were compelled to withdraw, leaving the river in the hands of the Union Army. Soon after, Corinth, an important railroad center near by, was abandoned by the Confederates. Just as Grant was driving back the Confederate forces at Shiloh on April seventh, Commodore Foote captured Island No. 10 on the Mississippi. The Confederate front was thus pushed a considerable distance farther south along the whole western border.

But while these victories in the West were cheering the heart of the North, there was nothing but discouragement in the East. McClellan had failed to capture Richmond; Pope had fought and lost the second battle of Bull Run on August 29 and 30, 1862. The Confederates, swollen with the pride of victory, prepared to move on Baltimore and Philadelphia. They crossed into Maryland, captured Harper's Ferry, and met McClellan's army at Antietam.

The majority of Lincoln's Cabinet were opposed to the reappointment of McClellan. Stanton and Chase, on August twenty-ninth, drew up a formal protest, which was signed by both of them and also by the attorney general and the secretary of the interior. The secretary of the navy agreed with them, but declined to sign the paper lest his doing so should embarrass Lincoln. The appointment, however, stood, and McClellan set himself to work in a manner that appeared to justify Lincoln's partly restored confidence. Fortunately, he found his army in not so deplorable a condition as appeared after the defeat of Pope. All told, he had a hundred thousand men, and he himself reported eighty-seven thousand under his command at the time of the battle of Antietam. Lee had forty thousand. At the outset McClellan felt sure that Lee's army was nearly twice as large as it actually was.

General Lee's invasion of Maryland was his own undertaking. He believed that his invasion of that state would bring to his

army a large number of men resident in that state and in sympathy with the South, and also that he would be able to draw McClellan's army away from Washington to a position where Lee could fight it on ground of his own selection. McClellan had worked industriously in getting his army into shape for fighting. He now approached Lee with very great deliberation and on September seventeenth fought a bloody battle at Antietam. McClellan was favored by a fortunate accident through which he captured papers disclosing the entire plan of Lee. If McClellan had moved more promptly he might have come upon Lee's army divided, and almost have wiped it out of existence. McClellan knew Lee's plan: he could no longer deceive himself with his habitual delusion that the enemy was stronger than he, for he had learned authoritatively that Lee's army was less than half as large as his own.

It was a battle which McClellan could not wholly lose, but which his delays and indecisions brought to a close in a meager victory, of which he took no advantage.

The losses on both sides were heavy. On the Union side 12,410 were lost in the battle of Antietam, and the whole campaign involved a loss of 15,203. This does not include the Union loss of 12,737 involved in Lee's capture of Harper's Ferry. The Confederate loss as nearly as can be ascertained, was 11,172 at Antietam and their whole loss in this campaign of 13,964. Nevertheless, it was a Union victory. Lee suffered a loss which he could not afford, and he saw before him no possible success resulting from further penetration of the North. He withdrew his army across the Potomac.

If McClellan had only renewed the battle on the morning of the eighteenth, he might materially have shortened the war; but he was inordinately gratified by his success on the preceding day, and quite unwilling to risk his laurels by any further immediate venture. His corps commanders, according to their own testimony, earnestly advised him to renew the battle on the following morning and McClellan said he would consider it. The next morning he wrote:

Those in whose judgment I rely tell me that I fought the battle splendidly, and that it was a masterpiece of art.

Two days later he wrote:

I feel that I have done all that can be asked in twice saving the country.

Lincoln rejoiced in McClellan's success, but was profoundly saddened when McClellan permitted Lee to return across the Potomac. He himself paid a visit to McClellan's army. Apparently he could discover no hope that McClellan had any plans for aggressive action. Lincoln now removed McClellan from command, and that general ceased to be a figure of military importance from that time forward. But as he disappeared from the military horizon, his star rose as a political rival of Lincoln.

Lincoln had not consulted his Cabinet about the appointment of McClellan to the chief command after the disaster of Pope. There was a Cabinet meeting that afternoon, and, the members assembling before Lincoln came, Stanton in a voice that trembled with anger and excitement told the others what Lincoln had done. When Lincoln arrived, their attitude was one of accusation. Lincoln admitted that he had done it against their judgment, but thought it justified on two grounds, McClellan's organizing ability and the confidence of the army in him. They certainly did not think that McClellan was the only man who could save Washington. Glad enough were they when McClellan after the battle of Antietam was finally removed. But it is not certain that they were better judges of the situation than Lincoln. McClellan had accomplished the thing for which Lincoln had recalled him. He had organized the Army of the Potomac as it had not been organized before, and he had won a victory, though not a brilliant one.

The significance of the battle of Antietam, for the purpose of this biography of Lincoln, is, first, in its bearing upon Lincoln's

relations with the general from whom so much had been expected and who had accomplished so little. It is even more notable in its relation to Lincoln's long deferred Proclamation of Emancipation.

CHAPTER XI

EMANCIPATION

LINCOLN'S personal convictions concerning the sin of slavery, and the duty of the United States to eliminate that evil from its moral and political and economic life were pealed forth in trumpet tones in his Peoria speech of October 16, 1854. Never did he recede from the position there taken. But the practical difficulties that might attend the elimination of slavery either in peace or war were never underestimated by him. Because of what seemed to many his wavering policy with respect to that question, let us remind ourselves of what he said in that memorable address, for here, if anywhere, Lincoln spoke his deepest convictions concerning slavery:

This declared indifference, but, as I must think, covert zeal for the spread of slavery, I cannot but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world; enables the enemies of free institutions with plausibility to taunt us as hypocrites; causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity; and especially because it forces so many really good men among ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty, criticising the Declaration of Independence and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self-interest.

The doctrine of self-government is right,—absolutely and eternally right,—but it has no just application as here attempted. Or perhaps I should rather say that whether it has such just application, depends upon whether a negro is not, or is, a man. If he is not a man, in that case he who is a man may as a mat-

ter of self-government do just what he pleases with him. But if the negro is a man, is it not to that extent a total destruction of self-government to say that he too shall not govern himself? When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism.

What I do say is, that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent.

The master not only governs the slave without his consent, but he governs him by a set of rules altogether different from those which he prescribes for himself. Allow all the governed an equal voice in the government; that, and that only, is self-government.

Slavery is founded in the selfishness of man's nature—opposition to it in his love of justice. These principles are an eternal antagonism; and when brought into collision so fiercely as slavery extension brings them, shocks and throes and convulsions must ceaselessly follow. Repeal the Missouri Compromise—repeal all compromise—repeal the Declaration of Independence—repeal all past history—still you cannot repeal human nature.

I particularly object to the new position which the avowed principle of this Nebraska law gives to slavery in the body politic. I object to it because it assumes that there can be moral right in the enslaving of one man by another. I object to it as a dangerous dalliance for a free people,—a sad evidence that feeling prosperity, we forget right,—that liberty as a principle we have ceased to revere.

Little by little, but steadily as man's march to the grave, we have been giving up the old for the new faith. Near eighty years ago we began by declaring that all men are created equal; but now from that beginning we have run down to the other declaration that for some men to enslave others is a "sacred right of self-government." These principles cannot stand together. They are as opposite as God and mammon.

Our Republican robe is soiled and trailed in the dust. Let us

repurify it. Let us turn and wash it white, in the spirit if not the blood of the Revolution. Let us turn slavery from its claims of "moral right" back upon its existing legal rights, and its arguments of "necessity." Let us return it to the position our fathers gave it, and there let it rest in peace. Let us readopt the Declaration of Independence, and the practices and policy which harmonize with it. Let North and South—let all Americans—let all lovers of liberty everywhere—join in the great and good work. If we do this, we shall not only have saved the Union, but we shall have so saved it, as to make and to keep it forever worthy of the saving. We shall have so saved it that the succeeding millions of free, happy people, the world over, shall rise up and call us blessed to the latest generation.

At the beginning of his administration Lincoln was far from being ready to give immediate freedom to all the slaves. But he hoped to increase the area of freedom by inducing some of the border states to free their slaves. He went further. By the end of 1861, many slaves had been freed by the war itself; as early as May 27, 1861, General Benjamin F. Butler had ingeniously and unanswerably, from the standpoint of a recognition of the slaves as property, declared them to be "contraband of war." Lincoln knew that, by certain processes of law, certain states had acquired title to negroes, and he held it to the lasting honor of Kentucky that that state had never put such negroes on the auction-block. Whose were the negroes whom the war had freed? If not the property, they were morally the wards of the nation. Why not accept them as such, and, under the law of confiscation, take such others as might properly be taken, and colonize them? And why not colonize, also, such free negroes as desired it? This is the portion of his message to Congress, December 3, 1861, which gave rise to the Compensation Bill:

The war continues. In considering the policy to be adopted for suppressing the insurrection, I have been anxious and careful that the inevitable conflict for this purpose shall not degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle. I have, therefore, in every case, thought it proper to keep the in-

tegrity of the Union prominent as the primary object of the contest on our part, leaving all questions which are not of vital military importance to the more deliberate action of the legislature.

In the exercise of my best discretion I have adhered to the blockade of the ports held by the insurgents, instead of putting in force, by proclamation, the law of Congress enacted at the late session for closing those ports. So, also, obeying the dictates of prudence, as well as the obligations of law, instead of transcending, I have adhered to the act of Congress to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes. If a new law upon the same subject shall be proposed, its propriety will be duly considered. The Union must be preserved; and hence, *all indispensable means must be employed*. We should not be in haste to determine that radical and extreme measures, which may reach the loyal as well as the disloyal, are indispensable.

This was the method which Lincoln favored in liberating the slaves. Senator Browning spent the Sunday afternoon with him before his sending to Congress his message including the Compensation Provision, and wrote:

He is very hopeful of ultimate success. He suggested to me the policy of paying Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri \$500 apiece for all the negroes they had according to the census of 1860, provided they would adopt a system of gradual emancipation which should work the extinction of slavery in twenty years, and said it would require only about one-third of what was necessary to support the war for one year; and agreed with me that there should be connected with it a scheme for colonizing the blacks somewhere in the American continent. There was no disagreement in our view upon any subject we discussed.

In April, 1862, Congress passed a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. Lincoln signed it, but not with full approval. Senator Browning wrote in his *Diary*, April 14, 1862, this rather astounding entry:

At night went to the President's to lay before him the bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. Had a talk with him. He told me he would sign the bill—but he regretted the

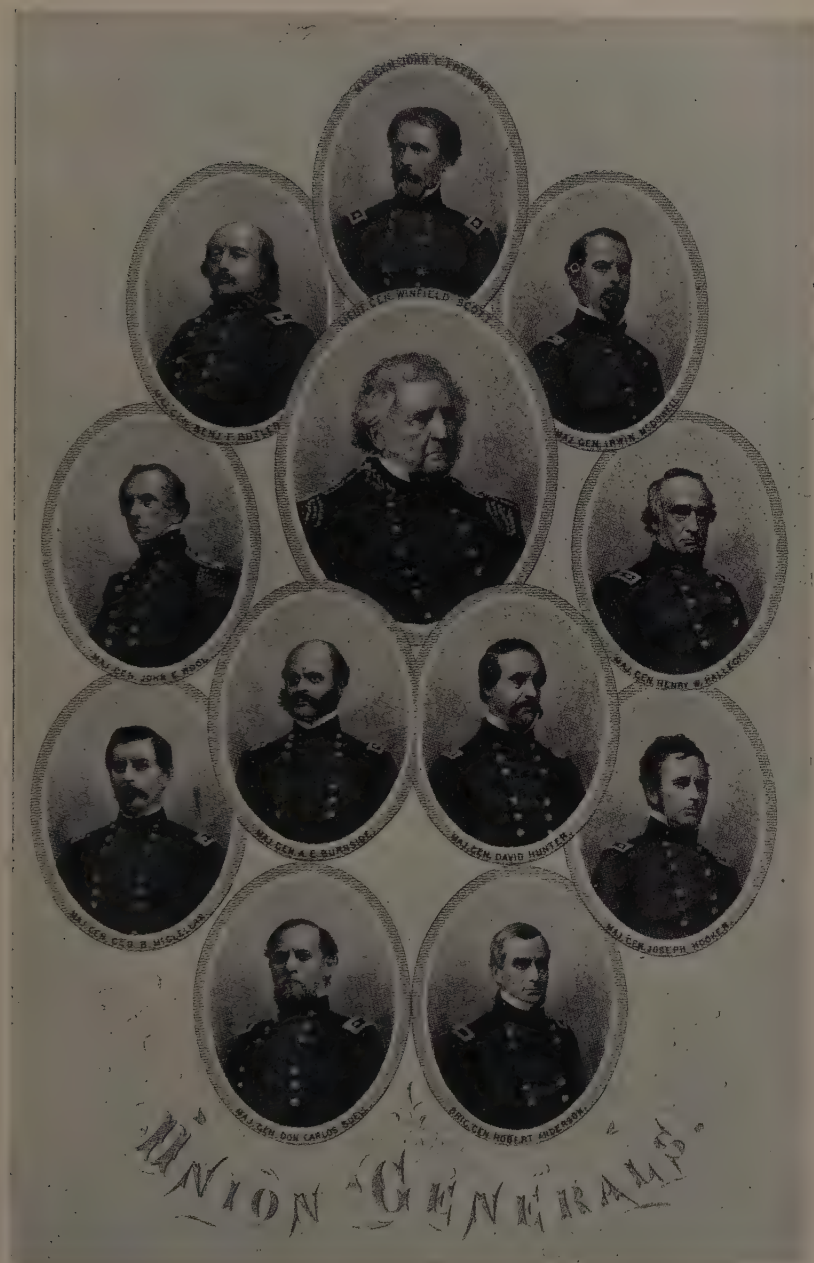
bill had been passed in its present form—that it should have been for gradual emancipation—that now families should at once be deprived of cooks, stable boys, &c., and they of their protectors, without any provision for them. He further told me that he would not sign the bill before Wednesday. That old Governor Wickliff had two family servants with him who were sickly, and who would not be benefited by freedom, and wanted time to remove them but could not get them out of the city until Wednesday, and that the Governor had come frankly to him and asked for time. He added to me that this was told me in the strictest confidence.

For two days Abraham Lincoln pocketed the bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, in order to give Ex-Governor Wickliff time to send two old slaves back to Kentucky before the bill became a law.

When Lincoln became president he cherished and expressed deep concern for the support of the border states. Kentucky, Missouri and Maryland were all slave states. Lincoln feared to alienate them by too pronounced a policy in favor of emancipation. It was said of Lincoln in that day, "Abraham Lincoln hopes that he has God on his side, but thinks he must have Kentucky."

Lincoln was himself a border state man. Not until he had given up hope of winning the border states to a policy of compensated emancipation, did he commit himself in his own mind to the plan of freeing the slaves by executive proclamation. He believed that he had the power to do this as a war measure, but he did not believe that he was justified in doing it, if in so doing he would weaken the cause of the Union by the alienation of the border states, and without material gain for the preservation of the republic.

From the date of his election Lincoln was deluged with advice from both sides. Loyal men from the border states told him that a policy of emancipation would drive those states into the confederacy. On the other hand, the friends of freedom were



UNION GENERALS PROMINENT IN FIRST HALF OF THE WAR
 From First Volume of Greeley's *American Conflict*

confidently demanding that he should immediately liberate all slaves.

The sharp antithesis between Lincoln's advisers is well illustrated in two speeches that were delivered on succeeding days, one in the Senate and the other in the House of Representatives. On April 23, 1862, Senator John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, speaking on the Confiscation Bill, said:

There is a niche in the temple of fame, a niche near to Washington, which should be occupied by the statue of him who shall save this country. Mr. Lincoln has a mighty destiny. It is for him, if he will, to step into that niche. It is for him to be but a President of the people of the United States, and there will his statue be. But if he choose to be, in these times, a mere sectarian and a party man, that niche will be reserved for some future and better patriot. It is in his power to occupy a place next to Washington, the Founder and Preserver, side by side.

On the next day in the House of Representatives in a speech for the same bill, Owen Lovejoy said:

I, too, have a niche for Abraham Lincoln; but it is in Freedom's holy fane, and not in the blood-besmeared temple of human bondage; not surrounded by slave-fetters and chains, but with the symbols of freedom; not dark with bondage, but radiant with the light of Liberty. In that niche he shall stand proudly, nobly, gloriously, with shattered fetters and broken chains, and slave-whips beneath his feet. If Abraham Lincoln pursues the path evidently pointed out for him in the Providence of God, as I believe he will, then he will occupy the proud position I have indicated. That is a fame worth living for; aye, more: that is a fame worth dying for, though that death led through the blood of Gethsemane and the agony of the accursed tree. . . . Let Abraham Lincoln make himself . . . the emancipator, the liberator . . . and his name shall not only be enrolled in this earthly temple, but it will be traced on the living stones of that temple which rears itself amid the thrones and hierarchies of Heaven.

In the early part of the war Lincoln took very conservative ground concerning attempts to force emancipation. He rebuked Frémont and restrained Hunter, and said in his special message to Congress on March 6, 1862, "In my judgment, gradual, and not sudden emancipation is better for all." In this message he proposed to Congress that the United States should give pecuniary aid to any state that would provide for a gradual emancipation of its slaves, with full compensation to the owners. It was this policy that Ralph Waldo Emerson condemned:

Pay ransom to the owner,
And fill up the bag to the brim;
But who is owner? The slave is owner
And ever was; pay him!

On March 10, 1862, the president held a conference with representatives of the border states, and earnestly urged this plan for their consideration. It brought no practical result.

On May 19, 1862, in a communication called forth by the proclamation of General Hunter, declaring slaves in the states of Georgia, Florida and South Carolina free, the president again alluded to this effort by which he hoped to retain the loyalty of the border states to the Union, while providing for gradual emancipation. He said:

To the people of those states I now earnestly appeal. I do not argue—I beseech you to make the argument for yourselves—you cannot if you would, be blind to the signs of the times. I beg of you a calm and enlarged consideration of them, ranging, if it may be, far above personal and partisan politics. This proposal makes a common cause for a common object, casting no reproach upon any. It acts not the Pharisee. The change it contemplates would come as gently as the dews of heaven, not rending or wrecking anything. Will you not embrace it? So much good has not been done by one effort in all past time, as, in the Providence of God, it is now your high privilege to do. May the vast future not have to lament that you have neglected it.

On July 12, 1862, Lincoln invited all the members of Con-

gress of the border states to meet him at the White House. In the address made on that occasion he said:

I intend no reproach or complaint when I assure you that in my opinion, if you all had voted for the resolution in the gradual emancipation message of last March, the war would now be substantially ended. And the plan therein proposed is yet one of the most potent and swift means of ending it. Let the states which are in rebellion see definitely and certainly that in no event will the states you represent ever join their proposed confederacy, and they cannot much longer maintain the contest. . . .

If the war continues long, as it must, if the object be not sooner attained, the institution in your states will be extinguished by mere friction and abrasion, by the mere incidents of the war. It will be gone, and you will have nothing valuable in lieu of it. Much of its value is gone already. How much better for you and for your people to take the step which at once shortens the war and secures substantial compensation for that which is sure to be wholly lost in any other event! How much better to thus save the money which else we sink forever in the war! How much better to do it while we can, lest the war ere long render us pecuniarily unable to do it! How much better for you as seller, and the nation as buyer, to sell out and buy out that without which the war could never have been, than to sink both the thing to be sold and the price of it in cutting one another's throats!

I do not speak of emancipation *at once*, but of a *decision* to emancipate *gradually*. . . .

Upon these considerations I have again begged your attention to the message of March last. Before leaving the Capitol, consider and discuss it among yourselves. You are patriots and statesmen, and as such I pray you consider this proposition and at the least commend it to the consideration of your states and people. As you would perpetuate popular government for the best people in the world, I beseech you that you do in nowise omit this. Our common country is in great peril, demanding the loftiest views and boldest action to bring a speedy relief. Once relieved, its form of government is saved to the world, its beloved history and cherished memories are vindicated, and its happy future fully assured and rendered inconceivably grand. To you, more than to any others, the privilege is given to as-

sure that happiness and swell that grandeur, and to link your own names therewith forever.

To the president's bitter disappointment the border state representatives did not accept his suggestion. He believed then, and said later, that their refusal to follow his advice in this matter brought nearer the necessity for emancipation.

Lincoln had believed that he understood the border states, and that they understood him. Perhaps he was never more bitterly disappointed than in their refusal to accept his plan.

"Oh, how I wish the Border States would accept my proposition," he said to Isaac N. Arnold and Owen Lovejoy one day; "then you, Lovejoy, and you, Arnold, and all of us would not have lived in vain. The labor of your life, Lovejoy, would be crowned with success. You would live to see the end of slavery."

"Could you have seen the President," wrote Sumner once to a friend, "as it was my privilege often—while he was considering the great questions on which he has already acted—the invitation to emancipation in the States, emancipation in the District of Columbia, and the acknowledgment of the independence of Haiti and Liberia, even your zeal would have been satisfied.

"His whole soul was occupied, especially by the first proposition, which was peculiarly his own. In familiar intercourse with him, I remember nothing more touching than the earnestness and completeness with which he embraces this idea. To his mind it was just and beneficent, while it promised the sure end of slavery."

All these efforts failed. To Lincoln it then seemed clear that the alternative was a proclamation of emancipation. He himself has fixed the time of this decision in his letter to A. G. Hodges, of Kentucky, written April 4, 1864:

When in March, May and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the border States in favor of compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military

emancipation and arming of blacks would come, unless arrested by that measure. They declined the proposition, and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, or issuing the emancipation proclamation.

On July 22, 1862, just ten days after his futile meeting with the representatives of the border states, Mr. Lincoln called together his Cabinet and read to them a proclamation of emancipation. He proposed to free all slaves that were held in the states then in rebellion, the proclamation to become effective on January 1, 1863.

An excellent account of this Cabinet meeting was preserved by Frank B. Carpenter, the artist who painted the life-size picture commemorative of the event, and who recorded the story while all members of the Cabinet were living. He related that Lincoln read his proposed proclamation and that after some suggestions from others, Secretary Seward said in substance:

"Mr. President, I approve of the proclamation, but I question the expediency of its issue at this juncture. The depression of the public mind, consequent upon our repeated reverses, is so great that I fear the effect of so important a step. It may be viewed as the last measure of an exhausted government, a cry for help; the government stretching forth its hands to Ethiopia, instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the government." His idea was that it would be considered our last *shriek*, on the retreat. "Now," continued Mr. Seward, "while I approve the measure, I suggest, sir, that you postpone its issue, until you can give it to the country, supported by military success, instead of issuing it, as would be the case now, upon the greatest disasters of the war!" The wisdom of the view of the Secretary of State struck me with very great force. It was an aspect of the case that, in all my thoughts upon the subject, I had entirely overlooked. The result was that I put the draft of the proclamation aside, as you do your sketch for a picture, waiting for a victory. From time to time I added or changed a line, touching it up here and there, anxiously waiting the progress of events.*

*Carpenter, *Six Months in the White House*, p. 21.

Seward's suggestion that the time was inopportune had weight with Lincoln. He felt the force of the proposal to delay it until there was a decisive Union victory. On this account he waited, hoping more earnestly than ever for some turn in the military situation to indicate to him and his Cabinet that a fit time for issuing the proclamation had come.

Lincoln never contemplated with satisfaction the prospect of a liberated negro race living side by side with the white race. Emancipation in his mind was logically joined to colonization. Soon after the beginning of the war, it became evident that the progress of that struggle would free many slaves, perhaps all of them. He earnestly desired Congress to appropriate money for the colonization of such slaves as should be freed, and who might willingly accept colonization with their freedom. He carefully considered whether it might be wise to make it a condition of emancipation that the liberated slaves should leave America. At his earnest solicitation Congress in 1862 appropriated six hundred thousand dollars and left it to be expended by the president in removing, with their own consent, free persons of African descent to some country which they might select as adapted to their condition and necessities. He appointed a negro commissioner of emigration, Reverend O. J. Mitchell, to promote the object of this appropriation. We are familiar with the office of commissioner of immigration, but Mr. Mitchell's office was of quite another sort. To Mr. Mitchell we owe the report of an extended conference which the president held on Thursday, August 14, 1862, with a group of free colored men who were believed to be leaders of their race. The president did most of the talking. He admitted at the outset the great wrongs which the negro race in America had endured at the hands of white men, but said that the presence of the negro in America had been the occasion of much injury to the other race. "But for your race among us, there could be no war," he said. There was a war, and white men were cutting each other's throats and no one knew where it would end. The negroes in America suffered

inevitable disadvantages, whether free or slave, and the white men suffered on their account. He said to them that it would be far better for both races if the two were separated, and that he had available a large sum of money to assist in the separation. He said it was important that the newly emancipated slaves, with minds clouded by slavery, should have the leadership of men of their own race who had enjoyed the advantages of freedom. He recognized that those who were already free might prefer not to leave America. "This is (I speak in no unkind sense) an extremely selfish view of the case. You ought to do something to help those who are not so fortunate as yourselves." He said that if the white people could know that emancipated slaves were to leave America, one chief objection to emancipation would be removed. Free negroes, therefore, who refused to be leaders in a movement for colonization, obstructed the freedom of their own people. Those colored people whom the war had freed, had gained their liberty at the cost of white men's blood: were they to do nothing themselves by way of sacrifice for their own people? If they remained in this country when they might honorably go elsewhere; they purchased physical comfort at the cost of self-respect.

But where were they to go? The first answer was, to Liberia. The president had been in conference with "the old president" of Liberia, Roberts. There was much to be said for Liberia as the ultimate home of the American negro. But he was favorable to a nearer situation on this side of the ocean. He recommended the purchase of a tract in Central America, within the republic of New Granada. It was well adapted in climate to the constitution of the American negro, and favorable to the growing of cotton and other crops to which the negro was accustomed.

The president appears to have made an impression on some of the colored leaders. An agreement was entered into between the president and A. W. Thompson for the settlement of a tract in New Granada, and Senator S. E. Pomeroy, of Kansas, proposed to accompany and oversee the establishment of the colonists. But

the government of New Granada objected to the settlement of a large colony of negroes in that republic and this plan had to be abandoned.

Then the president turned to Hayti, whose government was found to be willing to receive the colonists. In April, 1863, a group of honest contractors began the export of negroes, receiving fifty dollars for each American negro deported, on official certificate of his having been landed in Hayti. After about eighty thousand dollars had been expended, it was found that the region set apart for this colony was wholly unsuitable, and the negroes were brought back at the expense of the original agents who had given a fraudulent description of the country.*

Reluctantly, and with deep sorrow, Lincoln faced the problem of emancipation without the correlative plan of the removal of the free negroes from America.

On August 20, 1862, Horace Greeley addressed a long open letter to Mr. Lincoln through the *Tribune*, complaining "That a large proportion of our regular army officers, with many of the volunteers, evinced far more solicitude to uphold slavery than to put down the rebellion." He accused Lincoln of undue tenderness toward southern slaveholders, and demanded from him a statement of his own policy and purpose. Lincoln answered in a memorable letter which was given to the public:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, August 22, 1862.

Hon. Horace Greeley.

Dear Sir: I have just read yours of the 19th addressed to myself through the "New York Tribune." If there be in it any statements, or assumptions of fact, which I may know to be erroneous, I do not, now and here, controvert them. If there be in it any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I

*The report of the commissioner of emigration in the Department of the Interior for 1863 records these attempts of the president to provide for the emigration of free negroes. The report of the conference of August 14, 1862, presumably written for the *New York Times*, is in Raymond's *Life of Lincoln*, pp. 505-508.

do not, now and here, argue against them. If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend, whose heart I have always supposed to be right. As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt. I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be—"the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. / My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery, and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. / I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views. I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

Yours,

A. Lincoln.

If any present-day reader thinks that this letter to Greeley satisfied either Greeley or those for whom Greeley spoke, he is mistaken. On the contrary, it seemed to very many that Lincoln had utterly abandoned his own principles with respect to slavery. He had entered his campaign against Douglas with the determination to force the slavery issue as a moral question on which no man had a right to be neutral. He had mercilessly hammered Douglas for his incautious declaration that if the principle of popular sovereignty were preserved he cared not whether slavery was voted up or voted down. To very many it seemed that in this letter to Horace Greeley, Lincoln had gone squarely over to the position which he had so vigorously con-

demned in Douglas. What did Lincoln mean if not this, that if the Union was preserved, he cared not whether slavery was voted up or voted down? It is little wonder that Greeley was not satisfied with Lincoln's answer, and that many others were disquieted.

On September thirteenth, a deputation of ministers from Chicago called on Lincoln to urge on him the duty of immediate emancipation. Lincoln did not inform them that such a proclamation was already written and awaiting a suitable opportunity to promulgate it. He set forth to them the practical difficulties in the way of an immediate movement of this sort:

What good would a proclamation of emancipation from me do, especially as we are now situated? I do not want to issue a document that the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative, like the Pope's bull against the comet. Would my word free the slaves, when I cannot even enforce the Constitution in the rebel States? Is there a single court, or magistrate, or individual that would be influenced by it there? And what reason is there to think it would have any greater effect upon the slaves than the late law of Congress, which I approved, and which offers protection and freedom to the slaves of rebel masters who come within our lines? Yet I cannot learn that the law has caused a single slave to come over to us. And suppose they could be induced by a single proclamation of freedom from me to throw themselves upon us, what should we do with them? How can we feed and care for such a multitude? . . . If we were to arm them, I fear that in a few weeks the arms would be in the hands of the rebels; and, indeed, thus far we have not had arms enough to equip our white troops. I will mention another thing, though it meets only your scorn and contempt. There are fifty thousand bayonets in the Union armies from the border slave States. It would be a serious matter if, in consequence of a proclamation such as you desire, they should go over to the rebels.

Then came the battle of Antietam, which was fought September 17, 1862. It was far from being as decisive a victory as Lincoln had hoped for, but it was a victory. Lee was driven out

announcing his course as correct in terms as it could be made without any change in his determination.

Mr. Chase also summarized the discussion which followed the presentation of the document:

The President then proceeded to read his Emancipation Proclamation, making remarks on the several parts as he went on, and showing that he had fully considered the whole subject, in all the lights under which it had been presented to him. After he had closed, Governor Seward said: "The general question having been decided, nothing can be said farther about that. Would it not, however, make the proclamation more clear and decided to leave out all reference to the act being sustained during the incumbency of the present President; and not merely say that the Government 'recognizes,' but that it will maintain, the freedom it proclaims?" I followed, saying: "What you have said, Mr. President, fully satisfies me that you have given to every proposition which has been made a kind and candid consideration. And you have now expressed the conclusion to which you have arrived clearly and distinctly. This it was your right, and, under your oath of office, your duty, to do. The proclamation does not, indeed, mark out exactly the course I would myself prefer. But I am ready to take it just as it is written, and to stand by it with all my heart. I think, however, the suggestions of Governor Seward very judicious, and shall be glad to have them adopted." The President then asked us severally our opinions as to the modification proposed, saying that he did not care much about the phrases he had used. Every one favored the modification, and it was adopted. Governor Seward then proposed that in the passage relating to colonization some language should be introduced to show that the colonization proposed was to be only with the consent of the colonists and the consent of the States in which colonies might be attempted. This, too, was agreed to, and no other modification was proposed. Mr. Blair then said that, the question having been decided, he would make no objection to issuing the proclamation; but he would ask to have his paper, presented some days since, against the policy, filed with the proclamation. The President consented to this readily. And then Mr. Blair went on to say that he was afraid of the influence of the proclamation on the border States and on

the army, and stated, at some length, the grounds of his apprehensions. He disclaimed most expressly, however, all objection to emancipation *per se*, saying he had always been personally in favor of it—always ready for immediate emancipation in the midst of slave States, rather than submit to the perpetuation of the system.

The statement of Mr. Welles which relates the Cabinet proceedings is as follows:

All listened with profound attention to the reading, and it was, I believe, assented to by every member. Mr. Bates repeated the opinions he had previously expressed in regard to the deportation of the colored race. Mr. Seward proposed two slight verbal alterations, which were adopted. A general discussion then took place, covering the whole ground—the constitutional question, the war power, the expediency and the effect of the movement. After the matter had been very fully debated, Mr. Stanton made a very emphatic speech sustaining the measure, and in closing said the act was so important, and involved consequences so vast, that he hoped each member would give distinctly and unequivocally his own individual opinion, whatever that opinion might be. Two gentlemen, he thought, had not been sufficiently explicit, although they had discussed the question freely, and it was understood that they concurred in the measure. He referred, he said, to the Secretary of the Treasury and (hesitating a moment) the Secretary of the Navy. It was understood, I believe, by all present that he had allusion to another member, with whom he was not in full accord. Mr. Chase admitted that the subject had come upon him unexpectedly and with some surprise. It was going a step further than he had ever proposed, but he was prepared to accept and support it. He was glad the President had made this advance, which he should sustain from his heart, and he proceeded to make an able impromptu argument in its favor. I stated that the President did not misunderstand my position, nor any other member; that I assented most unequivocally to the measure as a war necessity, and had acted upon it. Mr. Blair took occasion to say that he was an emancipationist from principle; that he had for years, here and in Missouri, where he formerly resided, openly advocated it; but he had doubts of the expediency of this executive

action at this particular juncture. We ought not, he thought, to put in jeopardy the patriotic element in the border States, already severely tried. This proclamation would, as soon as it reached them, be likely to carry over those States to the secessionists. There were also party men in the free states who were striving to revive old party lines and distinctions, into whose hand we were putting a club to be used against us. The measure he approved, but the time was inopportune. He should wish, therefore, to file his objections. This, the President said, Mr. Blair could do. He had, however, considered the danger to be apprehended from the first objection mentioned, which was undoubtedly serious, but the difficulty was as great not to act as to act. There were two sides to that question. For months he had labored to get those States to move in this matter, convinced in his own mind that it was their true interest to do so, but his labors were vain. We must make the forward movement. They would acquiesce, if not immediately, soon; for they must be satisfied that slavery had received its death-blow from slave-owners—it could not survive the rebellion. As regarded the other objection, it had not much weight with him; their clubs would be used against us take what course we might.

When Congress convened in December, 1862, Lincoln communicated the proclamation to that body in a message reaffirming in the strongest possible terms, his faith in the indivisibility of the Union, and of the righteousness of his proclamation as a means of saving the Union. He said:

I do not forget the gravity which should characterize a paper addressed to the Congress of the nation by the Chief Magistrate of the nation. Nor do I forget that some of you are my seniors, nor that many of you have more experience than I in the conduct of public affairs. Yet I trust that in view of the great responsibility resting upon me, you will perceive no want of respect to yourselves in any undue earnestness I may seem to display. . . . The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. We, of this Congress and this administration, will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance, or insignificance, can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We—even *we here*—hold the power and bear the responsibility. In *giving* freedom to the *slave* we *assure* freedom to the *free*—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last, best hope of earth. Other means may succeed, this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless.

The question of the employment of negro troops gave concern to both armies. General Lee favored enlisting negroes in the Southern Army, and so did Jefferson Davis, but the South had reason to pause before putting uniforms on the backs of slaves and giving them guns with which to fight against soldiers of the white race. Negroes thus fighting in the Confederate Army would, of course, receive their freedom as a reward, and they would thereafter live in the South, after having been taught to shoot white men. In the North there was much disinclination to employ negroes as soldiers, but a growing conviction that there was no good reason why white men should die to make black men free and the black men be sheltered from the perils of the war. Soon after the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect, the enlistment of negro soldiers began. On January 20, 1863, twenty days after the proclamation became effective, Governor John A. Andrew, of Massachusetts, was authorized to enlist negro soldiers, to be formed into a separate corps. How well he did his work, and how well he was aided by George L. Stearns and others, the monument to Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, which stands on Boston Common, fronting the state-house, attests. In August of that year, Honorable Joseph Holt, Judge Advocate

General, sent to the president an official opinion that the president was authorized to enlist slaves as soldiers, remunerating such masters as were loyal for property thus taken from them for the uses of the government in time of war.

Lincoln's desire to provide if possible a gradual method of emancipation with compensation would naturally have restrained him even longer from issuing the Proclamation of Emancipation had not existing conditions made any such provisions impossible. But Lincoln had to deal not only with conservative but with very radical elements in his own party. Through all the months of his administration he had been careful in testing out the sentiments of the country, to determine whether it would bear such a proclamation. The time had come when in some respects it was safer to issue the proclamation than not to do so. There was a growing conviction that Webster was right in his declaration that liberty and Union were one and inseparable. The divided house had not stood. Could it be reunited and rebuilt upon the foundation of liberty? This was the stone which the builders had rejected: Lincoln made it the headstone of the corner.

CHAPTER XII

"HE SAID HE WAS MASTER"

IF LINCOLN supposed that his Emancipation Proclamation would be a popular political move, he was doomed to cruel disappointment. The proclamation succeeded in rousing the most bitter hostility of the pro-slavery element of the North, and by a singular inconsistency it seemed to give some of the extreme anti-slavery advocates a new ground for their attacks upon Lincoln.

The North contained a very strong element which had little or no sympathy with the conduct of the war. The so-called "Copperhead" movement, which later manifested itself in deliberate plans for the overthrow of the government, was in 1862 a strongly entrenched political power opposed to the president. The friends of McClellan turned against Lincoln, alleging that he had first failed to cooperate with this brilliant general, and then ruthlessly removed him from command for reasons of political jealousy. Haters of the negro professed to see in the Emancipation Proclamation the menace of negro equality and of social demoralization. Extremes met. There was a considerable element in the North composed of those who were bitterly opposed to slavery, and who blamed Lincoln severely for not freeing the slaves earlier. Indeed, there were not a few who declared that the president, with what they called his customary vacillation, would find a pretext for recalling his proclamation before January 1, 1863. These people found common ground with those who blamed him for freeing the slaves at all.

The Democratic Party declared that the Emancipation Proc-

lamation had now made abolition the actual purpose of the war. No longer, they affirmed, was the preservation of the Union the paramount object; the real purpose for which white men were expected to lay down their lives was to give freedom and social equality to the black man. This distinctly was not what they had undertaken to do, nor did they propose to do it.

The congressional election in Maine occurred early in September, 1862. Then, as in subsequent elections, the results of that state were closely watched. "As goes Maine, so goes the Union," had already become a proverb. Maine usually elected a Republican governor by a majority of from 10,000 to 19,000. In 1862, Maine chose a Republican governor by a majority of only 4,000, and, for the first time since there had been a Republican Party, Maine sent one Democrat to Congress.

Ohio voted in October, and sent to the National House of Representatives fourteen Democrats and only five Republicans. The Democratic vote in that state exceeded the Republican by a majority of 7,000. In Pennsylvania, where two years before Lincoln had had a majority of 60,000, the Democratic vote exceeded the Republican by about 4,000, and the congressional delegation was divided. Indiana sent to Congress only three Republican representatives and eight Democrats. New York went Democratic by a majority of nearly 10,000, electing Horatio Seymour as governor. New Jersey, which had voted Republican in 1860, went Democratic in 1862. Michigan remained Republican, but its majority was reduced from 20,000 to 6,000. Wisconsin divided its delegation evenly. Illinois, Lincoln's own state, went Democratic by a majority of 17,000, and her congressional delegation was eleven Democrats to three Republicans. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois all failed to support Lincoln in 1862.

To their everlasting honor the New England States, and Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, California and Oregon, stood better in their support of the president. But when the returns were all in, the Democrats, who had only forty-four votes in the

House in the Thirty-seventh Congress, had seventy-five in the Thirty-eighth.

In that crisis the border states stood by the president. He had not underestimated the importance of holding them loyally within the Union, and true in their support of the administration. They in 1862 furnished a sufficient number of pro-administration members to save Congress from going over to the opposition.

But among the Republicans were not a few members so bitterly hostile to Lincoln for his cautious policy that it could hardly be said that the president had in Congress any more than a bare working majority.

The elections of 1862 were "off-year" elections. Off-years are often fatal years. The elections of 1862 were not fatal to Lincoln's hopes, but they weakened his support, and prepared the way for a bitter and painful campaign in 1864.

The Emancipation Proclamation went into effect on January 1, 1863. There was a great celebration in Music Hall in Boston, and Ralph Waldo Emerson read his *Boston Hymn* on that occasion. In many other places there were enthusiastic meetings and warm expressions of approval. But that is not the whole story. There was much emphatic disapproval, also. On the day following the proclamation's taking effect, Senator O. H. Browning recorded:

Friday, Jany. 2, 1863. At Mr. Seward's for dinner at 6. No one else there. I asked him why the Cabinet did so useless and so mischievous a thing as to issue the proclamation which had been issued, the only effect of which was to unite and exasperate them in the South and divide and distract us in the North. He replied by telling me an anecdote of a man who after the termination of the Revolutionary War could not rest till he had a liberty pole erected in his village; when asked by his neighbors what he wanted with a pole, and whether he was not as free without it as with it, he would always answer, "What is liberty without a pole?" And what is war without a proclamation? We played whist with Mrs. Seward and Miss Fanny till 9 o'clock, and then

Seward and I went over to the President's. We found General Butler there who had just arrived from New Orleans. He read to us his parting address to the people of New Orleans, and General Banks' proclamation upon assuming command. His conversation indicated that he was a very ultra abolitionist. He gave it as his opinion that the only way to put down the rebellion was to destroy slavery. This class of people do not seem to know that armed rebellion stands between us and slavery, and that to get at the latter we must first crush the former.

There had been a time when the president and Browning seemed to be of one accord in this matter, but that time was past, and it never came back. Browning still supported the president, but confessed this sharp dissent from his view of the way to deal with slavery. And Browning was one of many scores of thousands. Browning hated slavery, as Lincoln did, but wholly disapproved of Lincoln's way of getting rid of it.

If Lincoln was at first disposed to attribute his rebuke at the polls to any other cause than the unpopularity of his methods, he was not lacking in friends who told him with entire and almost brutal frankness their view of the case. We are making considerable use of the *Diary* of Senator Browning. It is our latest and in some respects most intimate authority upon the life of the president in those days. Browning was at the White House almost daily. When the Lincoln family was in trouble, as it was when Willie died, Senator and Mrs. Browning spent not only their days but their nights at the White House. Perhaps Lincoln never had any intimate friends, but if he had any in this period, Browning was one of the closest. Shortly after the November elections in 1862, Browning had a long visit with the president:

He was apparently very glad to see me, and received me with much cordiality. We had a long familiar talk. When speaking of the results of the recent elections I told him that his proclamations had been disastrous to us. That prior to issuing them, all loyal people were united in support of the war and the admin-

istration. That the masses of the Democratic Party were satisfied with him, and warmly supporting him, and that their disloyal leaders could not rally them in opposition. They had no issue without taking ground against the war, and that we would annihilate them. But the proclamations had revived old party issues, given them a rallying cry, capital to operate upon, and that we had the results in our defeat. To this he made no reply. I added that the Republican Party could not put down the rebellion—that no party could do it—that it required a union of all loyal men in the free states to give us success, and without that union we must disastrously fail. To all this he fully assented.

About this time the president's support in Congress seemed almost totally to disappear. A visitor to the capitol called upon Thaddeus Stevens and asked to be introduced to some of the president's adherents. Stevens led him over to the desk of Isaac N. Arnold, saying that this man wanted to meet the members of Congress who were in sympathy with the president, and that so far as Stevens knew, Arnold was the only man in the lower House who belonged in that group. This, of course, was putting the matter too strongly, but it was uncomfortably near the truth.

Misfortunes never come singly. Soon after the elections of November, 1862, came the appalling news of the battle of Fredericksburg. On December 13, 1862, General Burnside, with 125,000 men, crossed the Rappahannock on three pontoon bridges and made a frontal attack on Lee, who had 80,000 men well entrenched on the opposite side of the river, his right commanded by Stonewall Jackson and his left by Longstreet. If geography has anything to say about battles, that was a foolhardy proceeding on Burnside's part, and bitterly did his army pay for his folly. The Federal loss was 12,800 against Lee's loss of 4,300. The Federal Army retreated north of the Rappahannock, and the country was compelled to be thankful that the army was able to get back without being captured or destroyed.

The country was well-nigh desperate. On the afternoon of Tuesday, December 16, 1862, the Senate adjourned about half-

past one, and the Republican members held a caucus. We have an account of it in Browning's *Diary*. Lyman Trumbull bitterly assailed the administration, denouncing the president and Seward. Ben Wade declared that the Senate ought to go in a body to the White House and demand the resignation of Seward. He favored the creation of a lieutenant general, "with absolute and despotic powers," and he must be a Republican in politics. "He said a member of the Cabinet* informed him that there was a backstairs and malign influence which controlled the President, and overruled all the decisions of the Cabinet, and he understood Mr. Seward to be meant. He was for demanding his removal."

Browning and others spoke in defense of Lincoln, if not of Seward. A motion to adjourn was offered, and was opposed by Trumbull and others, but prevailed. The caucus took recess for a day without violent action. Browning's comment on the speeches of Trumbull, Wade, Grimes, Fessenden and the others who had attacked Seward, and with him the president, is interesting:

These ultra-radical, unreasoning men, who raised the insane cry of "On to Richmond" in July, 1861, and have kept up a war on our generals ever since, who forced through the confiscation bills, and extorted from the President the Proclamations and lost him the support of the country, are now his bitterest enemies, and doing all in their power to break him down.

The next day, the caucus assembled again. "Many speeches were made," says Browning, "all expressive of a want of confidence in the President and his Cabinet. Some of them denouncing the President and expressing a willingness to vote for a resolution asking him to resign. Most of those who spoke were the partisans of Mr. Chase, and excepted him from the censure they bestowed upon the Cabinet."

Browning wrote:

*It is apparent from subsequent speeches in the caucus that the member of the Cabinet who furnished Wade his information was Chase.

In my remarks on yesterday I said I knew there was no more honest, upright, conscientious man than the President, and that I knew him to be in favor of the most vigorous prosecution of the war, and that he intended to prosecute until every state was restored to the Union and every rebel compelled to submit to the authority of the government.

Apparently Browning did not speak on the second day. Charles Sumner moved that a committee be appointed "to wait on the President and represent to him the necessity for a change in men and measures." This motion prevailed almost without dissent. The committee was composed of Senators Jacob Colamer, of New York, B. F. Wade, of Ohio, William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine, Ira Harris, of New York, James W. Grimes, of New Hampshire, Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois, Jacob M. Howard, of Vermont, and Samuel C. Pomeroy, of Kansas. It was not a committee whose composition could afford much comfort to the president.

That Lincoln was heart-broken over this revolt of the Senate, and for a time almost in despair, we might assure ourselves if we had no record of the fact; but we have a record again in Browning's *Diary* of Thursday, December 18, 1862:

In the evening went with Mr. D. W. Wise of Boston to the President's. The servant at the door reported that he was not in his office—was in the house, but had directed them to say that he would not be seen to-night. I told the boy to tell him I wished to see him a moment and went up into his room. He soon came in. I saw in a moment that he was in distress—that more than usual trouble was pressing upon him. I introduced Mr. Wise who wished to get some items for the preparation of a biography, but soon discovered that the President was in no mood to talk upon the subject. We took our leave. When we got to the door the President called to me saying he wished to speak to me a moment. He asked me if I was at the caucus yesterday. I told him I was, and the day before also. Said he, "What do those men want?" I answered, "I hardly know, Mr. President, but they are exceedingly violent against the admin-

istration, and what we did yesterday was the gentlest thing that could be done. It had to be that or worse." Said he, "They wish to get rid of me, and I am sometimes half disposed to gratify them." I replied, "Some of them do wish to get rid of you, but the fortunes of the country are bound up with your fortunes; and you must stand firmly at your post with a steady hand. To relinquish it now would bring upon us certain and inevitable ruin." Said he, "We are now on the brink of destruction. It appears to me the Almighty is against us, and I can hardly see a ray of hope." . . . He added, "The committee is to be up and see me at 7 o'clock. Since I heard last night of the proceedings of the caucus, I have been more distressed than by any event of my life." I bade him good-night and left him.

The days that followed were no better. On the very next day "old Francis P. Blair came into the marble room" and sent for Browning. The country was very nearly ruined, he told Browning, and advised Browning to go to the president and tell him to get rid of Stanton and Halleck. A little later Reverdy Johnson came to Browning's seat in the Senate and told him the country was going to the devil, and that there must be a new Cabinet.

Browning recorded that he did not wish to thrust his advice upon the president, but he met the president that afternoon and the president told him he was trying "to keep things along." But Browning declared to his *Diary* that things could not be kept along much longer at this rate.

Lincoln met the committee first alone, and then invited them to come again and meet in person the members of the Cabinet and tell them frankly what they were saying to him. They came again, and the entire Cabinet was present except Seward. Senator Collamer presented to the president in writing the view of the Republican caucus. The president invited the members of the Cabinet to reply. Their answer took the wind out of the sails of the report:

Chase, Blair and Bates made speeches—the others said nothing. The purport of the speeches was to prove that the Cabinet did hold meetings, and that there were no dissensions among

them—Mr. Chase among others stating that they were all harmonious.

That must have been a surprising statement for Chase to make in the presence of Wade! The committee could not say very much after that, nor does it appear that Lincoln said much of anything. He had no need to say much.

If the committee was astonished at this information, so was the caucus when the committee made its report. "I asked Judge Collamer," wrote Browning, "how Mr. Chase could venture to make such a statement in the presence of senators to whom he had said that Seward exercised a backstairs and malign influence upon the president and thwarted all the measures of the Cabinet." Collamer could only growl out an angry answer concerning Chase. That answer was in two words—"He lied."

With such a report before it, what could the Republican caucus do? It did not see that it could do anything. It heard the report of the committee, learned that it could not depend on Chase to repeat in the presence of the president and the rest of the Cabinet what he had said to Wade, and the caucus ingloriously adjourned.

That night Browning called again at the White House. He was ready with suggestions for the new Cabinet which he hoped Lincoln would appoint. He suggested as secretary of state, first Collamer, of New York, and then Ewing, of Ohio. For secretary of war he would have General Banks. If Lincoln took Collamer as secretary of state, then Ewing would be a good man for secretary of the treasury. For one of the other places he suggested Guthrie, of Kentucky. He did not propose himself as a member, but it is scarcely possible that he thought of a new Cabinet with himself out of it.

Lincoln told him frankly that he did not propose to have any new Cabinet. He said that if he got a new one, the same men would attack it who were now opposing the old one. He said he would rather get along with the one he had than try a new one.

By this time, he had Browning half convinced. And then Browning recalled, and mentioned to the president, that the men who had instigated this revolt were partisans of Chase:

I told him that their game was to drive all the Cabinet out, then force upon him the recall of Mr. Chase as premier, and form a Cabinet of ultra men around him.

Lincoln understood this quite as well as Browning did, and assured Browning that the Senate would not be allowed to compel him to adopt any such measure. When Browning went to the White House that night, December 22, 1861, he told the president "that this was a time of more peril than any we had encountered" and wanted him to make up a new slate for a Cabinet. He left convinced that the president was right in his determination to keep the old Cabinet, and let his opponents howl.

"He said with a good deal of emphasis that he was master," wrote Browning.

He said the truth. He was master, and he knew it, and those who opposed him were to learn it.

Let us pause for a moment to consider this emergence and ascent of Lincoln from out of the depths. Perhaps in no other crisis of his presidency is there a more complete and significant example.

He had promised God that if General Lee was driven out of Maryland, he would issue the proclamation of emancipation. He issued that proclamation against the judgment of several members of his Cabinet, believing that it would commend itself to the favor of the people and to the blessing of God. Apparently it did neither. Lincoln never felt more completely God-forsaken than in the weeks after that proclamation bore its fruit. It seemed to him, as he told Browning, that God was against him, and it seemed also that the people, whom he trusted next to God, had also cast him adrift. Repudiated at the polls, he was deserted by Congress and betrayed by members of his Cabinet.

The ballot failed him; the army failed him; the heavens above him were brass. Never was he nearer despair than on the night when the committee from the Republican senatorial caucus was on its way to the White House.

He met that committee courteously, and received their report requesting him to dismiss his Cabinet and change his entire policy. He dismissed them with a request that they leave their report with him for consideration, and come again. When they came he had his Cabinet there, save only Seward, whose presence might have provoked them and led Seward to indiscretions. He shrewdly kept still and let Chase speak for himself, following the wisdom of the Arab proverb, "When the wind blows your fire, save your breath." He sent the committee back, discomfited, but with no occasion for anger against any one but Chase. Again he could chuckle, as he did when Buchanan and Douglas were fighting each other—"Go it, husband, go it, bear!"

Then, when the committee had gone back to the caucus, and the caucus, having exhausted its oratory and accomplished nothing, adjourned, Browning, thinking the president would now gladly do voluntarily what he could not with good grace have done under compulsion, went over to assist Lincoln with the new Cabinet, and found Lincoln adamant, and went away more than half believing that Lincoln was right. That lonely man, no longer despairing, no longer forsaken of his God, no longer hesitating between opposing counsels, calmly declared that he was master of the situation. Though his army was defeated and without a general, his Cabinet divided and without heart, his Congress rebellious and his friends in despair, Abraham Lincoln stood calmly, with a new faith in God and the cause for which he was fighting.

That faith was justified. The proclamation of emancipation raised up new friends in Great Britain, and drove the last nail in the coffin of Europe's recognition of the Confederate Government. It gave a new moral definition to the conflict. Again the armies prepared for battle, singing as they marched:

We will rally round the flag, boys,
We'll rally once again,
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom.

The fortunes of the administration were at a low ebb. One thing, however, was becoming apparent; so far as any one in Washington was in control of the situation, it was not Congress, nor the Committee on the Conduct of the War, nor the Cabinet, nor the army, nor even, as Chief Justice Taney was to learn, the Supreme Court; it was the president. They who had thought him a weak man, easily controlled by stronger natures, were learning that Abraham Lincoln could be almost despotic. They did not hesitate to say this of him, and to declare that under his administration the United States had become a military despotism. The country was beginning to learn who was at the head of the administration. There was one man who never had any doubt who was master. That was the man who was accustomed to receive stacks of letters and telegrams and editorials requesting or demanding that he do this or refrain from doing that, and to stuff them all into a pigeonhole, saying, "I know more about it than any of them." That was the man whom some people thought self-distrustful and many now call modest, Abraham Lincoln.

"He said with a good deal of emphasis that he was master."

CHAPTER XIII

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN, GIVE US A MAN!"

MILITARY success is much more promptly won than is political success. As it is swiftly won, so is it easily lost. Before the close of the Civil War, Horace Greeley published the first volume of his *American Conflict*. It was illustrated with steel engravings, each of them a group picture containing a number of portraits. One of these showed the faces of twelve Union generals who had won fame before the middle of 1863. These were, General Scott, who had the central place, and Generals Wool, McClellan, Butler, Fremont, McDowell, Halleck, Hooker, Burnside, Hunter, Anderson and Buell. The second volume, published shortly after the close of the war, had as its frontispiece a companion group. Not one portrait from the first volume appeared in the second. This was not wholly because the publishers and engravers desired a new group; no general who had made his reputation in the first half of the war retained it to the end. Aspirants for military glory could find few more thought-provoking or profitable lessons than those suggested by a prolonged study of these two groups of pictures. With a few possible exceptions, almost any one could at a guess recall the names that of necessity must have appeared in the second list. General Grant, of course, had the central place. Around him were the portraits of Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas, Meade, Hancock, Blair, Howard, Terry, Curtis, Gilmore and Banks. One can not study this list long without the reflection that not all these names would have survived to appear in a third volume.

A large proportion of the nation's trained soldiers had gone

with the South. It was a fair question whether, after the withdrawal of the southern generals, the North had left a competent military leader.

General Emory Upton, in his *Military Policy of the United States*,* says:

On the thirty-first of March, 1862, the Government had in service an army of 637,126 men, nearly all of whom were enlisted for the term of three years.

The Confederate Army, composed largely of one-year volunteers, whose enlistments were on the eve of expiring, scarcely exceeded 200,000 men.

The failure to subdue the Rebellion in 1861 has already been explained by our total want of military organization and preparation. The failure to subdue it in 1862, with the amazing advantages possessed by the Union, proceeded from a cause entirely different—the mismanagement of our armies.

Humiliated and made wiser by the defeat at Bull Run, the President, the Cabinet, and the people, were at first disposed to give the new commander all the time necessary to organize and discipline his troops; but when several months had passed with no indication of an advance, the army in the meantime having increased to above 200,000 men, impatience for action returned with accumulated force.

When Gen. McClellan assumed command, he found his army "cowering on the banks of the Potomac," the troops and the people alike demoralized by the defeat and panic at Bull Run. He knew that but two things, men, and the time to make them soldiers, were necessary to restore the ascendancy of the Government. The men were given liberally, but time to drill them could not be accorded. When the armies throughout the country, with scarcely a shadow of discipline, had swelled to the aggregate of 600,000, the expense of supporting them was so great that the President was forced to declare if something was not soon done "the bottom would be out of the whole affair."

At the time of the appointment of Gen. McClellan the fate of the nation seemed to depend upon this single individual. In

*This remarkable book which for years lay pigeonholed in Washington, is now published, in full and in abbreviated form, by the United States Government for use as a text-book.

the organization of his army he stood alone. None of his brigade, division, or corps commanders had ever seen service as such. None of them, as in Europe, had exercised command at maneuvers or had been practiced in handling large bodies of troops. The colonels, from whom the future brigadiers were mostly to come, were nearly all from civil life, with but little knowledge of tactics or standard of discipline, by which to gauge the proficiency of their troops. A difficulty of nearly equal magnitude confronted him in the staff. The Adjutant General's Department for want of interchangeability with the line could not, as in European services, furnish competent chiefs of staff to him or to any of his corps and division commanders.

It was during the month lost by the delay at Yorktown, that the Confederate Congress abandoned voluntary enlistments, adopted conscription, and took away from the governors the power to commission Confederate officers; it was during this month, when the Army of the Potomac should have been at the doors of Richmond, that almost every regiment of the Confederate Army was reorganized; it was during this month that Confederate conscripts began to pour into the old regiments instead of being formed into new organizations; it was during this and the two succeeding months, while McDowell was held back, that these conscripts, associated with veteran comrades, acquired courage and discipline, and it was by concentration during the last month that the Confederate Army was made to equal its opponent. The loss of battles was but a trifle compared with the other consequences of this one month's delay. It arrayed against us a military system, which enabled the Confederate Government to call out the last man and the last dollar, as against a system based on voluntary enlistment and the consent of the States. It was no longer a question of dealing a dissolving army its deathblow. We had permitted a rival government to reorganize its forces, which we now were compelled to destroy by the slow process of attrition.

One thing the nation learned, or should have learned, out of the tragic experiences of the first years of the war, and that was that the question of winning battles was largely a question of trained leadership. We have tried our best not to learn this lesson. The volunteer soldier despised, or affected to despise,



UNION GENERALS

UNION GENERALS PROMINENT IN LAST HALF OF THE WAR
 From Second Volume of Greeley's *American Conflict*

leaders who had had military training. In the Mexican War, General Taylor, as "Old Rough and Ready," achieved a popularity which General Scott, "Old Fuss and Feathers," coveted but never attained. So, in the Civil War, the sympathy and enthusiasm of the volunteer soldier were for the volunteer officer, and the volunteer officer held the West Point graduate in open scorn. But it was the West Point graduates on both sides who proved themselves capable of sustained leadership. Sending soldiers to the front is a hazardous thing at best, but sending them to the front under undisciplined officers is manslaughter, and sometimes murder. The men who won the war were the men trained at West Point. The war did not produce its leaders out of raw material. All soldiers need disciplined leaders, but undisciplined soldiers especially need trained officers, or an army becomes a panic-stricken mob.

But where was the general to lead the Union Armies to victory? There was no lack of men or money, but where was the leader? The Greeks, having two words to our one for "man" have a proverb which we are incapable of translating literally, but the spirit of it might be suggested by the words, "We have plenty of men, but where is the man?"

On September 8, 1862, a week after the appointment of McClellan and shortly before Antietam, Edmund Clarence Stedman published his poem which echoed the pathetic cry of the North, "Abraham Lincoln, give us a man!" We must quote it in full:

WANTED A MAN

Back from the trebly crimsoned field
 Terrible words are thunder-tost;
 Full of the wrath that will not yield,
 Full of revenge for battles lost!
 Hark to their echo, as it crost
 The Capitol, making faces wan:
 "End this murderous holocaust;
 Abraham Lincoln, give us a Man!

"Give us a man of God's own mould,
Born to marshal his fellow-men;
One whose fame is not bought and sold
At the stroke of a politician's pen;
Give us the man of thousands ten,
Fit to do as well as to plan;
Give us a rallying-cry, and then,
Abraham Lincoln, give us a Man!

"No leader to shirk the boasting foe,
And to march and countermarch our brave,
Till they fall like ghosts in the marshes low,
And swamp-grass covers each nameless grave;
Nor another whose fatal banners wave
Aye in Disaster's shameful van;
Nor another, to bluster, and lie, and rave;—
Abraham Lincoln, give us a Man!

"Hearts are mourning in the North,
While the sister rivers seek the main,
Red with life-blood flowing forth,—
Who shall gather it up again?
Though we march to the battle-plain
Firmly as when the strife began,
Shall all our offering be in vain?—
Abraham Lincoln, give us a Man!

"Is there never one in all the land,
One on whose might the Cause may lean?
Are all the common ones so grand,
And all the titled ones so mean?
What if your failure may have been
In trying to make good bread from bran,
From worthless metal a weapon keen?—
Abraham Lincoln, find us a Man!

"O, we will follow him to the death,
Where the foeman's fiercest columns are!
O, we will use our latest breath,
Cheering for every sacred star!
His to marshall us high and far;

Ours to battle, as patriots can
When a Hero leads to the Holy War!—
'Abraham Lincoln, give us a Man!'

September 8, 1862.

The date of this poem is significant. It was written and published just after the reappointment of McClellan.

It would not be difficult to distinguish the principal characters referred to in the leaders so bitterly pilloried in this poem. No one could doubt whom Stedman meant by the leader who shirked the boasting foe, and there had been generals enough whose banners flew in the shameful van of retreat, or who blustered and lied and raved. He who will may try his hand in deciding just what officers the poet had in mind. But the poem went to the heart of Abraham Lincoln. He read it, and as he bent over, between the knotted fingers in which he buried his face, the tears dropped on the poem. Where was he to find that man?

He still hoped against hope that he had already found him. He was trying once more to have faith in McClellan. This general had been recalled against the protests of a portion of the Cabinet, and an influential portion of the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War. Indeed, this very poem was part of that protest. How the general had come to impress certain members of that committee, including Zachariah Chandler and Benjamin F. Wade, the biographers of Chandler have set forth, and Chandler himself told on the floor of the Senate:

Originally Mr. Chandler believed that McClellan's selection as the practical successor of General Scott was a wise one, and hoped to see his organizing capacity in camp supplemented by enterprise and courage in the field. Distrust first sprang up with the persistent effort of the Army of the Potomac throughout the last months of 1861, and it was strengthened by contact with the man himself and the study of his character and his plans. An illustration of how this change of opinion was brought about is given in an incident which occurred in the room of the Com-

mittee on the Conduct of the War. That committee sent for General McClellan as soon as they took up matters relating to his command, in order to consult with him informally as to the situation. This was in January, 1861, while he was in Washington "organizing" his army, and while there was no little impatience felt because he did not move. He was not formally called before the committee then, but simply called in for general consultation. After the regular business was finished, Mr. Chandler asked him bluntly why he did not attack the rebels. General McClellan replied that it was because there were not sufficient means of communication with Washington; he then called attention to the fact that there were only two bridges and other means of transportation across the Potomac.

Mr. Chandler asked what the number of bridges had to do with an advance movement, and McClellan explained with much detail that it was one of the most important features of skillful strategy that a commander should have plenty of room to retreat before making an attack. To this Mr. Chandler's response was:

"General McClellan, if I understand you correctly, before you strike at the rebels you want to be sure of plenty of room so that you can run in case they strike back!"

"Or in case you get scared," added Senator Wade.

The commander of the Army of the Potomac manifested indignation at this blunt way of putting the case, and then proceeded at length to explain the art of war and the science of generalship, laying special stress upon the necessity of having lines of retreat, as well as lines of communication and supply, always open. He labored hard to make clear all the methods and counter-methods upon which campaigns are managed and battles fought, and, as he was an accomplished master of the theory of war, succeeded in rendering himself at least interesting. After he had concluded, Mr. Wade said:

"General, you have all the troops you have called for, and if you haven't enough, you shall have more. They were well organized and equipped, and the loyal people of this country expect that you will make a short and decisive campaign. Is it really necessary for you to have more bridges over the Potomac before you move?"

"Not that," was the answer, "not that exactly, but we must bear in mind the necessity of having everything ready in case of a defeat, and keep our lines of retreat open."

With this remark General McClellan left the room, whereupon Mr. Wade asked:

"Chandler, what do you think of the science of generalship?"

"I don't know much about war," was the reply, "but it seems to me that this is infernal, unmitigated cowardice."

When it was proposed to reinstate McClellan as commander of the armies around Washington, four members of the Cabinet protested, among them Stanton, who wrote for their signatures this dignified protest, and unofficially expressed his dissent in far stronger language:

The undersigned, who have been honored with your selection as part of your confidential advisers, deeply impressed with our great responsibility in the present crisis, do but perform a painful duty in declaring to you our deliberate opinion that at this time it is not safe to intrust to Major-General McClellan the command of any army of the United States. And we hold ourselves ready at any time to explain to you in detail the reasons upon which this opinion is based.

But on September 2, 1862, Lincoln had reappointed McClellan, and accepted with gratitude for small mercies the meager victory of Antietam. After that, Lincoln could not coax, command or threaten McClellan with sufficient earnestness to force that general to move. Patience ceased to be a virtue, and Lincoln removed McClellan from his command.

It would be good to know that in the appointment of generals and the winning of victories no political consideration had any weight either in the army, in the Congress, in the Cabinet or in the White House. Unfortunately, this was not the case. If any general in command of the Army of the Potomac had been able to win decisive victories against forces of equal or nearly equal strength, he could have held his military position, and gone forward to victory upon the battle-field, and more than possibly have gone from there into the White House. Lincoln was far from being too popular to need to fear the rivalry of a successful

winner of battles, and it is to his immortal honor that, desirous as he was of succeeding himself, he would willingly have been defeated by a general who could have saved the country in a decisive victory and carried his success into politics. But no such general was in sight. McClellan had failed. Pope had failed. McClellan had failed again. Burnside had failed, and the cry was loud and long for still another restoration of "Little Mac." But the Cabinet was united against him. His known idea of a "military dictatorship," together with his record in battle or the avoiding of it, made certain that if McClellan achieved any further success he must do it at the polls, and he was not unwilling to undertake that adventure. If McClellan had been selected as the successor to Burnside and had won the battle of Gettysburg, he would have been elected president in 1864.

There was a prominent member of Lincoln's Cabinet who was very desirous that Hooker should be appointed, and that he should win. That was Salmon P. Chase, who sincerely believed that he himself ought to be elected president in 1864. If Hooker won, he would keep his ambitions within the bounds of military advancement, and Chase might expect to reap the political benefits of Hooker's military success. In an important and apparently reliable paper by Charles F. Benjamin, published in the *Century War Book*,* it is confidently affirmed that Hooker was appointed because Lincoln was compelled to recognize the power of the Chase interests. The effort to secure the appointment of Hooker against the distrust of Lincoln and the open hostility of Stanton was impossible, he affirms, until connection was made with a powerful faction which had for its object the elevation of Mr. Chase to the presidency at the end of Mr. Lincoln's term.

Making every allowance for the strength and availability of Mr. Chase as against Mr. Lincoln or any other civilian candidate, his friends did not conceal from themselves that the general who should conquer the rebellion would have the disposal of

**Hooker's Appointment and Removal*, by Charles F. Benjamin; *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, iii, 239-243.

the next presidency, and they were on the lookout for the right military alliance, when they came into communication with Hooker's friends, and received their assurances that, if it should be his good fortune to bring the war to a successful close, nothing could possibly induce him to accept other than military honors in recognition of his services. General Hooker thereupon became the candidate of Mr. Chase's friends. Hooker probably knew of these dickerings. Certainly Stanton did, through a friend in Chase's own circle. . . . At this critical moment the needed impulse in the direction of Hooker was supplied by a person of commanding influence in the counsels of the administration, and Mr. Lincoln directed the appointment to be made.

Who this person was, whose influence overbore the caution of Lincoln and the determined opposition of Stanton, and caused Lincoln to make an appointment which he knew to be dictated by the men who were opposing his own reelection, is a matter of conjecture. Certainly it was not a selfish action of Lincoln's part that made Hooker commander of the Army of the Potomac.

Lincoln's letter to Hooker, appointing him commander-in-chief of the Army of the Potomac is one of the classics of the war. Was ever another such letter written by a president to a man appointed to an important position? It is a marvel of kindness mingled with blunt and stern reproof:*

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

January 26, 1863.

Major General Hooker.—General: I have placed you at the head of the army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon what appear to me to be sufficient reasons; and yet I think it best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skillful soldier, which of course I like. I also believe that you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable if not indispensable quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm; but I think that,

*The original of this letter was sold at auction in the autumn of 1924. The Library of Congress sent in a bid of \$1,000; the letter sold for \$10,000.

during General Burnside's command of the army, you have taken counsel of your ambition, and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country, and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the government needed a dictator. Of course, it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain success can be dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for all commanders. I much fear that the spirit which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticizing their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you as far as I can to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it. And now, beware of rashness. Beware of rashness, but, with energy and sleepless vigilance, go forward and give us victories.

Yours, very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Hooker spent three months in organizing his army, and then advanced toward Richmond. He met Lee at a small place called Chancellorsville, and a terrific battle was fought on May 2 and 3, 1863, with a loss of about 17,000 men. In this battle Stonewall Jackson was killed by the mistaken fire of his own men.

Hooker was so severely criticized for this defeat and so annoyed by the orders which he received from Washington, that he asked to be relieved of his command.

Hooker was succeeded by General George B. Meade, of Pennsylvania. Meade was a graduate of West Point, and had served in the Mexican War. He came to the command of the Army of the Potomac just in time to have the honor of winning the battle of Gettysburg. That victory kept this cautious officer in his position as commander of the Army of the Potomac until the end of the war; but his failure to follow Lee was a bitter disappointment to Lincoln, who could not relieve himself from the im-

pression that Meade had been willing that Lee should escape rather than that Meade then should risk a second battle. Meade's fame is secure in the winning of one superb victory, but he did not justify the faith that would have been involved in delegating to him any larger responsibility.

The man whom the nation needed and whom Lincoln was seeking, was even then merging into view. The very day on which Meade won his victory at Gettysburg, and in the very winning of it displayed a lack of those qualities which made it sure that he could win another one, another general came into public notice, and from that time on until the end of the war was seldom out of the public mind, though seldom visible to public view. It is not necessary at this time to name him. In time the nation found the man who could lead its armies to victory.

CHAPTER XIV

GETTYSBURG: WHAT THEY DID THERE

AN INCIDENT occurred in the autumn of 1863 which seemed at the time to be of little importance, but which has become one of the outstanding events of Lincoln's public career. The battle of Gettysburg was the one important battle fought on northern soil. The field lay within a state wholly outside of the borders of Confederacy. The system of national cemeteries controlled by the Federal Government had not as yet been devised. A portion of the battle-field at Gettysburg was purchased and held by a commission in which the several northern states that had participated in the battle were represented. This cemetery was set apart with solemn services on November 19, 1863. There President Lincoln delivered an address whose words have become immortal. The importance of the battle, and the world's interest in the address, require some description of the conflict. Before we consider what Lincoln said there, let us visit Gettysburg and remind ourselves as we travel over the field, what they did there.

One's first surprise on reaching Gettysburg is the discovery that it is not a hill town. The visitor has at least two reasons to expect to find it in the heart of the mountains. One is that the battle is described in terms of elevations—Seminary Ridge, Cemetery Ridge, Culp's Hill, Round Top and Little Round Top. The other is that he travels through hills to reach Gettysburg. When the train leaves Highfield, the junction point for the main line of the Western Maryland Railroad, he knows that he is on top of the mountain. The train moves slowly around horseshoe curves among cement-factories and saw-mills. After a few miles,

the farms, which have been discovered in the bottoms of the valleys, appear more nearly on the level of the track. Before the train reaches Gettysburg, the hills have been left behind and above. The distance is only twenty-two miles from Highfield to Gettysburg, but the last seven or eight miles find the train upon the floor of a wide valley. The hills have stepped back. The land rises and falls in graceful undulations. The railroad plows through the famous ridges described in the battle, and the cuts are only ten to twenty feet deep. Cemetery Ridge and Seminary Ridge are native to the locality. Culp's Hill, the Round Tops and the Devil's Den are intruders: they are formed of trap rock, thrust up through the floor of the valley. These are real hills, but they are not very high. The public square at Gettysburg—the people of the town call it “the Diamond,”—is only four hundred and twelve feet above sea level. Seminary Ridge is a gentle rise of ground, about forty feet higher, and Cemetery Ridge at its highest point is some fifty feet higher than the Seminary Ridge. Culp's Hill is five hundred eight feet above sea level; Little Round Top is five hundred forty-eight, and Round Top—the highest elevation in the battle—is six hundred sixty-four feet. The highest land that figured in the battle is only two hundred and fifty feet above the plain. The hill up which Pickett's Brigade charged is a very gentle slope. Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain are real mountains, but the fighting at Gettysburg had to do with very modest, though very important, elevations.

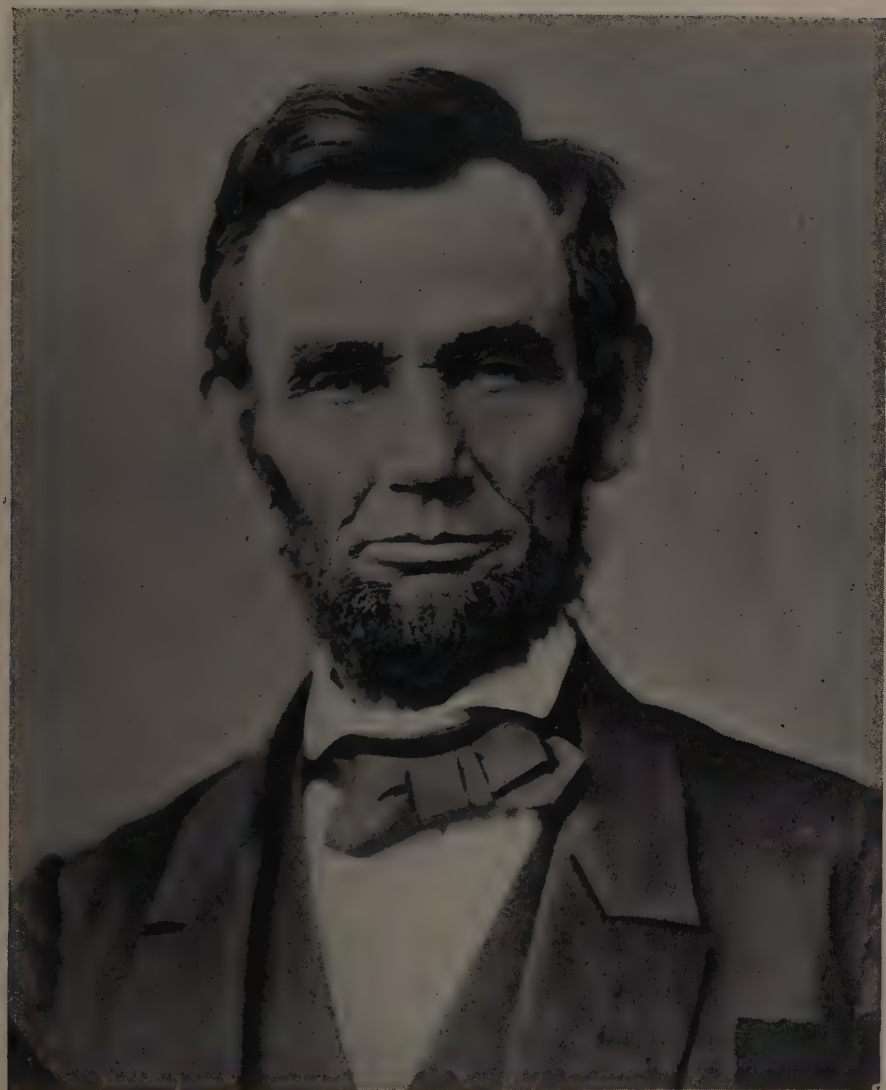
It is not easy to understand a battle, and still less easy to describe it so that others can understand the description. But it is important to gain an intelligent idea of this one.

In the summer of 1863, General Lee undertook an invasion of the North. It was a desperate and mistaken undertaking. But it did not seem so at the time. There appeared to be opportunity for a bold, successful strike. The war had been going on for two years, and in the main the advantage in the east was on the side of the South. In the West it was not so. Vicksburg was

about to fall, and the army of General Grant would be released for service east or south. It was desirable to accomplish something significant in the East as early as possible. The southern boast, that one Confederate could whip three or more northern soldiers, did not seem extravagant after Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. And Lee had to do something. Either he must continue on the defensive and see his army gradually worn down, or he must make a courageous advance. He decided on the latter policy. The southern armies were nearly destitute of shoes and clothing, and in sore need of medicine. But the men were hardy and seasoned. If Lee could make a successful invasion of the North, he might penetrate the rich state of Pennsylvania, obtain clothing and food, and replenish his supplies. If such a venture succeeded, he might capture Harrisburg, and quite possibly Baltimore and Philadelphia. He could threaten Washington and New York. And, if he could reach Lake Erie, he could control the lines of communication east and west, and profoundly influence European favor. It was a gambler's chance, and it was worth trying.

Lee crossed the Potomac and moved north rapidly. Hooker was in command of the Army of the Potomac, but since his defeat at Chancellorsville the basket had been waiting for his head. The Union Army, which within a few months had been commanded by McClellan, Burnside and Hooker successively, was awaiting another change. McClellan had been timid, Burnside rash, and Hooker boastful and intemperate. Politics and military mismanagement had done their work, and the army had experienced McClellan's indecisive victory at Antietam, Burnside's futile slaughter at Fredericksburg and Hooker's defeat at Chancellorsville. The spirit of the Army of the Potomac was crushed: and now, another experiment in leadership was impending.

To Hooker's lasting credit let it be remarked that he followed Lee promptly, and, marching by parallel roads, managed to keep his own army between that of Lee and the capital at Washington. Just on the eve of battle, Hooker was removed, and Meade



ABRAHAM LINCOLN
Photograph by Gardner, November 8, 1863

reluctantly took his place. Whatever Meade's deficiencies as a general, he was a gentleman, and a man of strength of character. The responsibility of command in that crisis was one which he had not sought, and if he was so overwhelmed by his new and heavy responsibilities as to show too great caution, there was much to excuse him. Continuing the movement of Hooker, he pursued Lee, intending to overtake Lee's rear, compel him to fall back, and fight a decisive battle. The field for this battle Meade selected at Pipe Creek in Maryland.

Neither Meade nor Lee expected or desired to fight a battle at Gettysburg. As Meade was selecting a favorable spot for the battle at Pipe Creek, Lee was preparing for a fight near Cash-town, toward Harrisburg. It was the fate of these two skilled officers each to propose a trap so inviting that he was confident the other would step into it, and then to leave both traps baited and unsprung. The battle occurred where neither general desired it; and each one was so sure that Gettysburg was no place for a battle that neither general arrived on the field until after the first day's fight.

The two armies moved with singularly little knowledge of each other's exact movements. Lee was worried because Stuart's Cavalry, on which he depended for information, was roving about, swapping sore-backed horses for fresh ones, and trading wornout shoes for new ones, so that Lee could not keep track of their movements.* To this day it is easily possible to stir the blood of a white-haired member of Jeb Stuart's merry company of horse-thieves, by whistling or fiddling a few bars from that old rebel song—the very melody which Lincoln's marching-clubs had used in honor of the Wide-awakes:

If you want to have a good time, jine the cavalry,
Jine the cavalry, jine the cavalry.

*It is not meant to imply that the cavalry rendered no effective service, but only that Lee did not know what it was doing. See *Stuart's Cavalry in the Gettysburg Campaign*, by General John S. Mosby, New York, 1908.

Major General J. E. B. Stuart's cavalry were having their promised good time. They were moving rapidly, here and there, and

Though they had a tolerable notion of aiming at progressive motion,

'Twasn't direct; 'twas serpentine.

Like Monsieur's corkscrew, worming through a cork,
Not like corkscrew's proxy—stiff, down-pronged fork.

They were certain to reach Harrisburg by the time Lee did, and would be freshly mounted and in fine fettle for a fight. It is hard to make an infantryman, who carried his gun and thirty pounds of baggage, believe that a cavalry soldier was ever anything more than a jolly raider of stables and hen-roosts. To the men who plodded through the mud, it seemed that he whose happy fate permitted him to "join the cavalry" had few cares. But if the infantry bugle in the early dawn blew the confession:

I can't get 'em up,
I can't get 'em up,
I can't get 'em up in the morning—

the cavalry bugle trumpeted the stern command:—

Get up and water your horses,
You dirty beggars, get up out of bed.

Stuart, a young and brilliant officer, had succeeded to the command of Stonewall Jackson on the death of the latter. Where was Stuart with his cavalry? For eight days, Lee did not know.

And what was Hooker doing all this time? Still on the south side of the Potomac, no doubt, answering the criticisms of the Committee on the Conduct of the War. So Lee hoped.

At the end of June, when Lee was about to descend upon Harrisburg, and capture the capital of Pennsylvania, he heard alarming news. Hooker's whole army was across the Potomac, and

was so placed as to cut off all hope that Lee could damage Washington, and was also where it might easily cut off Lee's line of communication with the South. Greatly disturbed, Lee decided to stop and meet Hooker, to invite him into the pleasant trap he had set for him, and by the defeat of Hooker's army to clear his way for advance and at the same time keep his lines of communication open. It seemed a wise plan. So he moved his army toward the south; his returning advance and the Federal advance meeting at Gettysburg, and each presenting to the other a courteous invitation to fight somewhere else.

And that was how it came to pass that the Southern Army entered Gettysburg from the north, and the Union Army entered it from the south, and Lee encountered not Hooker but Meade, and each general fought when and where he did not intend to fight.

Perhaps it would have worked out otherwise if General Reynolds, who commanded the Federal advance, had not been killed at the very beginning of the battle, north of Gettysburg on the morning of July 1, 1863. But the Federal command shifted more than once that day, and meantime, the Confederates, pushing south, were crowding hard on the Federal lines, and driving them back through and beyond the town. General Lee, arriving after the day's fighting was done, gave up all thought of battle at Cashtown. And General Meade, arriving at about one o'clock the next morning, still hoped that the real battle might be fought at Pipe Creek, but prepared for the bloody engagement which was soon to come that day.

There still is dispute as to who selected the permanent position of the Union Army. It was well selected. Its line was a fish-hook. The ring was at Round Top far south and east; the shank extended north through Little Round Top and on to the Cemetery Hill, which curved south of the village; the point was Culp's Hill. Meade found his forces in possession of this favorable ground, and he proceeded to strengthen his position. A mile away, the Confederates posted themselves on a larger and

parallel curve, their main positions being on a hill where stood and still stands, the Lutheran Theological Seminary for which it is named. The Confederates had the seminary and the town.

The fighting on the second day began after noon. General Sickles, who ought to have had his soldiers on the ring and shank of the fish-hook, placed them in an exposed position in a peach-orchard and wheat-field, nearer the Confederate lines. The story of that day's fight is a sad one; the most fortunate thing that ever happened to General Sickles was that he got shot. His loss of a leg saved him from a court-martial, and enabled him ever afterward to revisit Gettysburg as a hero. The peach-orchard and the wheat-field bore a sad crop that day. But the ground lost was recovered, though dearly bought, and the two Round Tops were carried by the Union troops, and the line of the fish-hook was preserved intact.

It had been Lee's plan that a simultaneous attack should be made on both flanks, that is to say, at the peach-orchard toward the ring of the fish-hook, and at Culp's Hill, at the point. But simultaneous attacks are seldom simultaneous. Something almost invariably occurs to slow up one or the other movement. So the attack on Culp's Hill came later than was intended, and while it met with immediate success, it came too late for permanent advantage. Night fell, and while the day's fighting had been to the advantage of the Confederates, the Union lines held the ridge. Meade, still sorrowing over the waste of his excellent unused battle-field at Pipe's Creek, found that he had a fairly good position where he was. He could send messages or troops from any part of his fish-hook to any other part, out of sight and gun-fire of the Confederates, while all the movements of the Confederates had to be conducted in the rear of a much larger curve, and there were fewer of the Confederates than of the Union soldiers. So the two armies waited for the next day. But if the two attacks of the Confederates had been simultaneous as was planned, the shank of the fish-hook would have been cut off, its point broken and the Union Army divided and defeated.

"Cave Tertium," the old Romans said. "Beware the third." The third day at Gettysburg was the decisive day. General Lee inspected the whole line, and decided that the weakest point held by the Union Army was just west of the cemetery, where the low ridge sloped down and offered the invitation of an easy ascent. General Lee knew that after two days of hard fighting and heavy losses there was an advantage to the side that would take the initiative. Thoughtfully he laid his plans for the third day. It was possible so to group his cannon along Cemetery Ridge as to focus their fire upon that one weakest spot. He would open with a heavy cannon fire, and would follow with a charge. He had an entirely fresh division of infantry. No army ever had a finer body of troops than Pickett's brigade. They had seen service on many battle-fields, but had not fired a shot at Gettysburg. That brigade was to be posted behind the guns, and as soon as the fire of the cannon ceased, they would move across the plain and capture and hold that almost central position in the Union lines. Meantime, he would send a force of cavalry around the point of the fish-hook to make a simultaneous attack in the rear.

Some of General Lee's division commanders protested against this plan. It was impossible, they declared, to capture and hold this place at the curve of the fish-hook, when it was so strongly guarded not only at the ring and point, but by the heavy guns along the curve at the cemetery. General Lee believed his plan a wise one. So far as the cannonade of the charge was concerned, his orders were carried out to the letter. But he was disappointed again in the matter of simultaneous movement. The cavalry did not arrive in time to do what he expected them to do. It is doubtful if, even with their help, he could have carried out so bold an undertaking.

General Lee massed one hundred forty cannon along Seminary Ridge and they are there to-day. They are placed as they were placed at the time of the battle and each battery is plainly designated. At one o'clock on the third day they laid down a

barrage, as we now have learned to call it. Such a roar of cannon had never at that time been heard on earth. The point at which he directed his fire was well chosen. The Union soldiers lay behind a low stone wall. They never turned a sod by way of fortification, for it never occurred to them that a charge would be made against that point. After a little more than an hour of heavy cannonading, the Confederate guns being answered by a nearly equal number on the Union side, the firing ceased. For a few moments it was uncertain whether the Confederates had stopped to cool their guns or because their ammunition was exhausted or because this was the prelude of something yet to occur. Not long was any one left in doubt. General Pickett's Brigade of Longstreet's Division had arrived the night before, and borne no share in the battle. For this brigade was reserved what might have been under other conditions the glory of achieving the final victory. These men, four thousand eight hundred in number, experienced, seasoned and disciplined, had lain concealed behind the Confederate batteries. When the firing ceased, they formed in double line of battle and charged the Union left center, their objective being a clump of trees which stood and still stands prominently behind the low stone wall which formed the Federal front. They did not run. They moved at a quick walk, or easy trot, their guns at right shoulder shift. They reserved their breath and their fire for the hand to hand struggle which they knew was coming. A braver charge has never been seen on any battle-field. For three-quarters of a mile across an open field, with very little to give them protection, these men moved. The Federal cannon opened upon them and tore gaps in their ranks. They went on until they came within musket range and were shot down by the men behind the wall. How any man among them lived to reach the wall is a mystery. They not only reached it, but fought with clubbed muskets across the wall, and many of them leaped the wall and fought on the other side. There the Confederacy reached its high water mark. The wave which dashed to that height did

not roll back; it broke and fell, and the waters flowed again into their place.

General Lee assumed sole responsibility for this charge. "It is all my fault," he said. He believed, and with reason, that the point he attacked was the weakest point in the Union position and that by assaulting the tired Federal troops with fresh and vigorous ones he could cut entirely through. He also depended upon the cooperating movement of cavalry which was to have swung around the Union right and attacked simultaneously from the rear. If only the cavalry had done its duty, Lee still believed that the movement might have succeeded. As it was, the judgment of Longstreet was vindicated. He had refused to speak the word of command to Pickett, but silently bowed his head and turned away. Like the charge of the six hundred at Balaklava, Pickett's men went to their death although their immediate commander, Pickett, and his commander, Longstreet, firmly believed that "some one had blundered."

These American officers were not the only ones who blundered. Colonel Freemantle of Queen Victoria's Coldstream Guards was visiting General Lee's army, and was near General Longstreet when Pickett's charge was made. Standing with his back to the sun and thrilled with admiration as he viewed that heroic charge, he saw, or thought he saw, the attacking column completely victorious. The men moved across the open space unterrified by cannon and musketry. They reached the wall and crossed it. Only a few of them straggled back. Colonel Freemantle rushed up to Longstreet and heartily congratulated him on his glorious victory. Longstreet knew better. Those men were remaining on the other side of the wall, not because they had captured the position, but because they were either killed or prisoners.

General Meade is hardly to be blamed for the fact that he could not at once comprehend or believe the magnitude of his victory. He had been compelled against his will to assume the command of an army to which he was practically a stranger, at

a time when it was divided by heated discussion concerning past commanders and had lost faith in all commanding generals. To him it hardly seemed credible that the repulse of Pickett's Brigade was the great victory for which the Army of the Potomac had been praying for more than two bloody and disastrous years. If General Meade be blamed for excessive caution in not following Lee, it is at least to be remembered to his credit that under him for the first time Lee met an army capable of inflicting upon him an incurable loss. Meade did not know how great a victory he had won. But General Lee knew.

CHAPTER XV

GETTYSBURG: WHAT HE SAID THERE

IT is impossible to study the career of Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War and avoid the conviction that during those anxious months when the president was bearing a burden of responsibility and grief such as few men have ever borne, Abraham Lincoln grew largely in his own spiritual nature.

On the fourth of July, 1863, the president issued an announcement of the success of Gettysburg in the following words:

The President of the United States announces to the country, that the news from the army of the Potomac, up to 10 o'clock P. M. of the 3d, is such as to cover the army with the highest honor—to promise great success to the cause of the Union—and to claim the condolence of all for the many gallant fallen; and that for this, he especially desires that on this day, "He whose will, not ours, should ever be done," be everywhere remembered and revered with the profoundest gratitude.

On that evening the president was serenaded at the White House, and said: "I do most sincerely thank Almighty God for the occasion of this call."

Remembering that it was the fourth of July, and the president not then having precisely in mind the exact number of years since the Declaration of Independence, he asked:

How long ago is it? Eighty-odd years since, on the fourth of July, for the first time in the history of the world, a nation by its representatives assembled, declared as a self-evident truth that all men are created equal.

It will be noted that he recurred to this same thought in the following November when he delivered the address at Gettysburg, but that in the meantime he had looked up the exact number of years between 1776 and 1863, and found it "four-score and seven years." On this night of the fourth of July, he went on to allude to other extraordinary events in American history which had occurred on that same month and day, notably the death of Jefferson and Adams in 1826, and then said:

And now on this last fourth of July just past, we have a gigantic rebellion, at the bottom of which is an effort to overthrow the principle that all men are created equal. We have the surrender of a most important position and an army on that very day.

He was speaking of the fall of Vicksburg; and he then alluded gratefully and with expressions of joy to the battle in Pennsylvania as a victory over the cohorts of those who opposed the Declaration of Independence.

The president did not stop with expressions of congratulation. A few days afterward he called for a national day of thanksgiving and praise, appointing the fourth of August as the day for the expression of gratitude to God for these victories, and invited them to call upon God by his Holy Spirit to subdue the anger which had produced and too long sustained a cruel rebellion; to guide the councils of the government; to visit with tender care and consolation those who had been brought to suffer, and finally, to lead the whole nation through paths of repentance and submission to the Divine will, to unity and fraternal peace. A portion of this proclamation read:

It has pleased Almighty God to hearken to the supplications and prayers of an afflicted people, and to vouchsafe to the army and the navy of the United States, victories on the land and on the sea, so signal and so effective, as to furnish reasonable ground for augmented confidence that the Union of these States will be maintained, their Constitution preserved, and their peace



THE GETTYSBURG SPEECH MONUMENT



THE CEMETERY AT GETTYSBURG

and prosperity permanently restored. But these victories have been accorded not without sacrifice of life, limb, health, and liberty, incurred by brave, loyal, and patriotic citizens. Domestic affliction, in every part of the country, follows in the train of these fearful bereavements. It is meet and right to recognize and confess the presence of the Almighty Father, and the power of His hand, equally in these triumphs and these sorrows.

These are the words of a man who, already a man of deep religious sensibility, had passed through experiences that baptized his soul in solemnity and attained a new sense of reliance upon the help of God.

I THE CEMETERY

When General Lee withdrew from Gettysburg on July 4, 1863, he left behind him at least twenty-five hundred Confederate dead, and the Union Army had lost more than as many men killed in battle. Besides these some twenty thousand men, Confederate and Union, were in hospitals. The churches, the theological seminary, and many houses and barns were utilized for the care of the wounded. Many of the men brought in had received no attention since they were first injured three or four days previously. Lee endeavored to take with him those of his own wounded who were likely to recover, leaving behind him those who were judged to be mortally wounded. In many cases, those fared better who were left behind. In the days following the battle hundreds died. These and those already lying dead on the battle-field were hastily buried. In many cases there was no attempt at the digging of a grave. Sufficient earth to cover the body was hastily scooped and thrown over it. In a short time portions of these bodies were exposed. Honorable David Wills, who had been acting by appointment for Governor Andrew G. Curtin, as representative of the state of Pennsylvania, in the care of the wounded, proposed that all the Union bodies should be gathered and buried in one place. He secured

an option at two hundred dollars an acre on the seventeen acres of land immediately adjacent to the village cemetery, being the angle which had resisted the attack of the Louisiana Tigers and the spot where some of the heaviest Union batteries had been posted. This land was purchased by the state of Pennsylvania, acting as trustee for the eighteen states that had Union soldiers buried there. The cost of the purchase and improvement of the grounds and of the burial of the soldiers was apportioned to the several states, not on the basis of the number of their soldiers engaged or buried there, but in the ratio of their representation in Congress. Thus Illinois, that had few soldiers in the battle and only six burials in the cemetery, paid nearly twelve thousand dollars, while other states with a smaller population but more soldiers in that army paid much smaller sums. The Cemetery Association which held the ground, was incorporated after the general plan of cemetery corporations. Up to that time the Federal Government had not inaugurated the policy of maintaining soldiers' cemeteries. When that plan developed, Gettysburg Cemetery was passed over to the government, and is now owned and operated by it.

The cemetery was laid out in a half-circle with a center reserved for an imposing monument, since built by the United States Government at a cost of \$50,000.

The work of removing the bodies of dead Union soldiers from their temporary graves was begun at once, but sickness developed in Gettysburg and was attributed to this cause. The work of removal ceased, therefore, until November. A limited number of bodies was in the new and permanent location at the time of the dedication.

II THE PLAN FOR DEDICATION

It occurred to the commission that it was desirable to arrange for a formal dedication of this ground. Edward Everett, who was believed to be the foremost orator of America, was invited

to deliver the oration. The date named in his invitation was October 23, 1863, and Mr. Everett replied that it would be impossible for him to prepare adequately for such an address in the limited time available. He proposed as a date at which he could come Thursday, November nineteenth. To meet his convenience the dedication was postponed nearly a month.

The date being now fixed, formal invitations were sent to the president and Cabinet, to General Meade and the venerable General Winfield Scott, to the diplomatic corps, to all members of both Houses of Congress and to many other distinguished citizens, requesting them to attend. Few comparatively of those invited accepted the invitation. It was hardly expected that any large portion of them could attend. General Scott declined on account of his age and infirmities. General Meade, smarting under the rebuke of President Lincoln for not following Lee after the battle of Gettysburg, declined to attend, giving as his reason his duties to the army. It was a surprise when the president accepted. The invitation first sent to him was not an invitation to speak, but only such an invitation as went to other prominent men requesting attendance at the dedication.

III LINCOLN'S INVITATION

Colonel Clark E. Carr, who represented Illinois in the membership of the commission, and at whose suggestion the invitation to Mr. Lincoln to speak was subsequently sent, says:

The proposition to ask Mr. Lincoln *to speak* at the Gettysburg ceremonies was an afterthought. The President of the United States had, like the other distinguished personages, been invited to be present, but Mr. Lincoln was not, at that time, invited to speak. In fact, it did not seem to occur to any one that he could speak on such an occasion.

Scarcely any member of the Board, excepting the member representing Illinois, had ever heard him speak at all, and no other member had ever heard, or read from him, anything except political discussions. When the suggestion was made that

he be invited to speak, while all expressed high appreciation of his great abilities as a political speaker, as shown in his debate with Stephen A. Douglas, and in his Cooper Institute address, the question was raised as to his ability to speak upon such a grave and solemn occasion as that of the memorial services. Besides, it was said that, with his important duties and responsibilities, he could not possibly have the leisure to prepare an address for such an occasion. In answer to this, it was urged that he himself, better than anyone else, could determine as to these questions, and that, if he were invited to speak, he was sure to do what under the circumstances, would be right and proper.

It must be remembered that Mr. Lincoln had not proved to the world his ability to speak upon such an occasion. He had not yet made a Gettysburg address, and he had not then made that other great address, which for sublimity and pathos ranks next to it, his second inaugural.

It was finally decided to ask President Lincoln "after the oration" (that is to say, after Mr. Everett's oration) as chief executive of the nation, "to set apart formally these grounds to their sacred use by a few appropriate remarks." This was done in the name of the Governors of the States, as was the case with others, by Mr. Wills; but the invitation was not settled upon and sent to Mr. Lincoln until the second of November, more than six weeks after Mr. Everett had been invited to speak, and but a little more than two weeks before the exercises were held.—*Lincoln at Gettysburg*, by Clark E. Carr, pp. 21-25.

Colonel Carr does not distinctly affirm, in this account, that it was he who, representing Mr. Lincoln's own state upon the board, suggested that the president be invited; but it appears that this was the case. He had heard Lincoln and Douglas at Galesburg, had been present and heard Lincoln at his first inaugural, and it was he who insisted, against the misgivings of some of the other commissions, that Lincoln be requested to make "a few appropriate remarks," following the oration by Governor Everett.

There was one other possible reason why the invitation was not given earlier. A year previous, on October 1, 1862, President Lincoln had visited the battle-field of Antietam. The battle

had been fought just two weeks earlier, on September seventeenth. The story soon after became current, and was widely circulated in the campaign of 1864, that when the ambulance in which the president was riding with General McClellan and others "reached the neighborhood of the old stone bridge, where the dead were piled highest, Mr. Lincoln suddenly slapped Marshall Lamon on the knee, and called on Lamon to sing a comic song." The following bit of doggerel found a place in the *New York World*:

Abe may crack his jolly jokes
O'er bloody fields of stricken battle,
While yet the ebbing life-tide smokes
From men that die like butchered cattle.

There were many who were not reluctant to believe this libel; and, indeed, it contained just enough of truth to make it difficult to deny. General McClellan certainly owed it to Lincoln that he should have denied it, but McClellan did not do so. Lincoln himself wrote out an account of the incident as it actually occurred, but decided not to publish it.* The story was believed by many people at the time of Lincoln's visit to Gettysburg.

Certain newspapers of the opposition believed, or professel to believe, that Lincoln's desire to attend the celebration grew out of his wish to use the event in the interests of the approaching presidential campaign. There were thousands of people, and not all of them south of Mason and Dixon's line, who held Lincoln personally responsible for the death of the men who died at Gettysburg.

IV THE JOURNEY TO GETTYSBURG

The railway authorities of the Baltimore and Ohio, who furnished the special train, planned at first that the president should leave Washington early in the morning of the day of

*Lamon, in his *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln*, gives Lincoln's version of this incident in *facsimile*. Lincoln wrote it in his own hand, in the third person, intending that Lamon should copy it and give it to the press as his own. Later he decided that it was better to say nothing about it.

dedication, and return that night. Lincoln himself, with characteristic caution, informed the secretary of war that he did not like this arrangement. At Lincoln's suggestion, Secretary Stanton procured a change of schedule. Instead of leaving Washington at six o'clock on Thursday morning, the presidential train left at noon on Wednesday, November eighteenth. The train contained four coaches. The fourth coach, in which the president rode, was a directors' car, the rear portion of which was partitioned off into a separate compartment with seats around the walls. In this car rode with the president, his secretary, John G. Nicolay, his assistant secretary, John Hay, the three members of his Cabinet who accompanied him, Messrs. Seward, Usher and Blair, several foreign officials and others. The train reached Gettysburg at dusk. Lincoln went, according to the invitation previously received, to the home of Mr. Wills, which faced the public square.

V THE NIGHT AT GETTYSBURG

The authorities in charge of the dedication assumed a perilous risk of bad weather when, to give Mr. Everett time for preparation of his oration, they postponed the date from October twenty-third to November nineteenth. But the weather was propitious. The night preceding the celebration was clear and warm, and the moon shone brightly. Gettysburg's usual population of about 1,300 was multiplied manyfold. Never, except during the battle, had so many people gathered there. Estimates of the crowd vary all the way from fifteen thousand to one hundred thousand. The former figure is probably nearer correct than the latter, and is large enough to suggest a crowd of embarrassing proportions. Several military bands had come with the different delegations, and they proceeded to give outdoor concerts in the evening. The diary of John Hay tells how he found congenial spirits who made up a musical party, singing *John Brown* and other songs.

Lincoln was serenaded, and spoke a few words which clearly and perhaps not very tactfully showed that he was unwilling to be tormented before the time. It was late that night when quiet resumed its wonted reign in Gettysburg.

VI THE PROCESSION

The event of the day was to have been introduced by a formal procession; and there was a procession of a sort. The United States Marine Band, of Washington, the second United States Artillery Band of Baltimore, the Birgfield Band of Philadelphia, and the band of the Fifth New York Heavy Artillery, were in line and furnished music, and certain military organizations took their assigned places in line; the Cemetery Commissions from the several states were in their places; and the president and the three members of his Cabinet present appeared on horseback. But the vast concourse of people did not join the procession. They were too much interested in seeing the procession to become a part of it. They either stood on the sidewalks or hastened to the cemetery to secure advantageous positions there.

The procession was to have started at ten o'clock. At that hour, Mr. Lincoln, dressed in black, and wearing a tall hat and white gauntlets, emerged from the home of Mr. Wills and mounted a waiting horse. The crowd pressed in upon him and he was compelled to hold an informal reception on horseback. It was eleven o'clock before the procession got under way. The president's horse was too small, and the president did not appear to good advantage.

When the president reached the cemetery, there was another delay. Mr. Everett had not arrived. He did not arrive for half an hour. The exercises began at noon, an hour late.

Colonel Carr, who rode just behind the president, stated that when the procession started, the president sat erect on his horse, and looked the part of commander-in-chief of the army; but as the procession moved on, his body leaned forward, his arms

hung limp, and his head was bowed. He seemed absorbed in thought. The route of the procession was only three-quarters of a mile, and the march was over in little more than a quarter of an hour. The tedium of the wait for Mr. Everett was partly relieved by the music of the band. Noon arrived, and with it Governor Everett; and the formal proceedings began. There was more music; a prayer described as eloquent; and then Edward Everett delivered his masterly oration.

VII EDWARD EVERETT'S ORATION

Edward Everett was in his day America's foremost orator. He had been a noted Boston minister; had followed his work in the pulpit with ten years as a professor of Greek; had then been successively president of Harvard, governor of Massachusetts, United States senator, minister to England and secretary of state. He was a cultured scholar, and an orator whose productions, based on the best Greek models, displayed American scholarship at its best upon the platform. He had delivered memorable orations at historic spots in New England, notably in connection with semi-centennial celebrations of battles in the Revolutionary War. His oration on Washington, a hundred times repeated in many parts of the country, had brought in the money that purchased and saved Mount Vernon. He had been a candidate for vice-president on one of the tickets opposed to Lincoln; but was a hearty supporter of Lincoln's administration. America had no orator in his generation, and has produced none since, who could more worthily represent the nation in a classic oration on such an occasion as that which he met at Gettysburg.

Very properly, he had insisted upon sufficient time to prepare his address. Having carefully written it, he committed it to memory, and doubtless carefully rehearsed it. Every sentence was thoroughly wrought out and balanced. Even the gestures seemed to have been arranged in advance. Leaving nothing to chance, he had spent three days at Gettysburg before the dedica-

tion, the guest of Mr. Wills, and had thoroughly studied the field. Every local and topographical allusion was accurate; every reference to the battle was historically correct. He spoke without manuscript or notes. His voice was clear, resonant and musical.

The speakers' platform was approximately where the central monument now stands. The people stood where the graves now are but not many graves were then filled.

Mr. Everett spoke for an hour and fifty-seven minutes, or as some hearers affirm, a trifle over two hours. From the beginning to the end he held the attention of the thoughtful among his hearers. His white hair, his erect form, his graceful pose, his faultless gesticulation, his becoming attire, his poise, his self-control, his clear rich voice, his knowledge, precision and oratorical power, held his audience for two hours after he began, which was three hours after most of the people had taken their places before the platform. The idle and the restless moved away, but the more thoughtful ones in the assembly heard him with interest unabated until the very end of his eloquent peroration.

At length the peerless orator took his seat. A dirge, composed by B. B. French, was sung. Then Ward Hill Lamon introduced the president of the United States, who proceeded to make the "few remarks" suggested in his belated invitation. And the world that thought it would little note has long remembered what he said.

VIII LINCOLN'S PREPARATION

When and where did Lincoln make his preparation for the Gettysburg Address? The answers to this question, given by men who heard the address, number not less than five or six.

The first answer is that the address was wholly extempore. I have been assured in Gettysburg itself that Lincoln said, "I shall have to trust to the inspiration of the occasion," and that

he made no other preparation. Professor Draper, in his *History of the American Civil War*, says that when Lincoln rose to speak, "he unpremeditatedly and solemnly said, 'It is intimated to me that this assemblage expects me to say something on this occasion.'"

Honorable Cornelius Cole, ex-Senator from California, in an address at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, in June, 1922, said:*

It has been stated that Mr. Lincoln had prepared his speech in writing, that he had done so on the way from Washington. There is no foundation for a statement of that kind. Mr. Lincoln probably made not a word or note in preparation for that address. I have no doubt whatever that it was wholly extempore and called forth by the circumstances of the occasion.

Senator Cole heard the address and he is a reputable man.

The second answer is that Lincoln wrote the address on the cars, on his way to Gettysburg. Honorable Wayne MacVeagh declared that he saw Lincoln write it then. Honorable Isaac N. Arnold should have known whereof he wrote, and he said:

Edward Everett, late Secretary of State, and Senator from Massachusetts, an orator and scholar whose renown had extended over the world, was selected to pronounce the oration. He was a polished and graceful speaker, and worthy of the theme and the occasion. President Lincoln, while in the cars on his way from the White House to the battlefield, was notified that he would be expected to make some remarks also. Asking for some paper, a rough sheet of foolscap was handed to him, and, retiring to a seat by himself, with a pencil, he wrote the address which has become so celebrated; an address which for appropriateness and eloquence, for pathos and beauty, for sublimity in sentiment and expression, has hardly its equal in English or American literature. Everett's oration was a polished specimen of consummate oratorical skill. It was memorized, and recited without recurring to a note. It was perhaps too artistic; so

*Senator Cole died in November, 1924, while the proof-sheets of this book were undergoing revision.

much so, that the audience sometimes during its delivery forgot the heroic dead to admire the skill of the speaker before them. When at length the New England orator closed, and the cheers in his honor had subsided, an earnest call for Lincoln was heard through the vast crowd in attendance. Slowly, and very deliberately, the tall, homely form of the President arose; simple, rude, his careworn face now lighted and glowing with intense feeling. All unconscious of himself, absorbed with recollections of the heroic dead, he adjusted his spectacles, and read with the most profound feeling the address.*

Honorable Horatio King, in his volume, *Turning on the Light*, stated that in 1885, Governor Andrew Curtin said to him at Gettysburg:

"I saw Mr. Lincoln writing this address in Mr. Wills' house on a long yellow envelope. He may have written some of it before. He said, 'I will go and show it to Seward,' who stopped at another house, which he did and then returned and copied his speech on a foolscap sheet."

Governor Curtin's account is amplified in Mowry's *History of the United States for Schools*. It states that the president, sitting with the members of his Cabinet who were present, Edward Everett, Governor Curtin and others, in "the hotel" but presumably in the Wills house, remarked that he understood he was expected to say something on the following day, and that if they would excuse him he would withdraw and prepare his remarks. He withdrew to an adjacent room, and soon returned with a large-sized yellow government envelope. He sat down, and remarked that he had written something, and with their permission would like to read it to them and invite them to criticize it. He read to them from the envelope what he had written there. Secretary Seward offered one or two suggestions, which Lincoln accepted. Then he said, "Now, gentlemen, if you will excuse me again, I will copy this off." He then retired to his room, and made a fair copy on foolscap paper, from which next day he read the address.

**Life of Lincoln*, p. 328.

Ben Perley Poore, whose experiences as a shorthand reporter should have made him exceedingly careful to be accurate, wrote in his *Reminiscences* that President Lincoln's "remarks at Gettysburg were written in the car on the way from Washington to the battlefield, upon a piece of pasteboard held on his knee."

It is unfortunate that so much of what is accepted as history is given to the world by writers of fiction, not all of whom admit that it is fiction they are writing. Mrs. Mary Shipman Andrews has made no pretense that the story she gave in her *The Perfect Tribute* was meticulously accurate in its historical portions. It is unfortunate that it is not accurate, for it is accepted by many as being so. She related that on the train the president looked across the car at Edward Everett, and asked Secretary Seward for the brown paper which he had just removed from a package of books. "May I have this to do a little writing?" the president is alleged to have said; and on that paper, with a stump of a pencil, he wrote the Gettysburg Address.

We know that Edward Everett was not on that train, having already been for several days in Gettysburg, and the address was certainly not written on wrapping paper.

The third answer is that Lincoln wrote the address in Gettysburg. Judge Wills, who was Lincoln's host at Gettysburg, believed that Lincoln wrote the entire address in his house. In a letter written for a Lincoln celebration in Philadelphia on the centenary of Lincoln's birth, Judge Wills wrote:

It was on my official invitation that the President came to Gettysburg. Between 9 and 10 o'clock of the evening of the 18th of November, 1863, Mr. Lincoln sent for me to come to his room, he being my guest. I went and found him writing, and he said he had just sat down to put upon paper a few thoughts for the next day's exercises, and wanted to know of me what part he was to take in it, and what was expected of him. We talked over it all very fully. About 11 o'clock he sent for me again, and when I went into his room he had the same paper

in his hand and asked me whether he could see Mr. Seward. I told him Mr. Seward was staying with my neighbor next door, and I would go and bring him over. He said, "No, I'll go and see him." I went with him, and Mr. Lincoln carried the paper on which he had written his speech with him, and we found Mr. Seward, and I left him with him. In less than half an hour Mr. Lincoln returned. The next day I sat by him when he delivered his immortal address, and he read it from the same paper on which I had seen him write it the night before.

Honorable Edward McPherson, whose home was in Gettysburg, and who was for many years clerk of the House of Representatives in Washington, and who compiled an excellent documentary history of the Civil War, in a newspaper communication in 1875 declared that on the night when the president was a guest in the home of Mr. Wills, he sent for his host, "and inquired the order of exercises for the next day and began to put in writing what he called some stray thoughts to utter on the morrow."

The fourth answer is that it was written in Washington before the president left for Gettysburg. Senator Cameron, in a newspaper item which had wide currency, was declared to have said that he himself saw the address in Washington a day or two prior to the president's departure for the celebration.

Major William H. Lambert, in what is in some respects the most carefully wrought out account of the address, says:

Whatever revision may have been given to the address *en route* or at Gettysburg, whatever changes or additions may have been made in its delivery, the Address existed in substantially completed form before the president left Washington. There can be no doubt that he had given prolonged and earnest thought to the preparation of this Address; he had had more than two weeks' notice that he was desired to speak; and although the demands upon his time and attention were such as to allow him little opportunity for uninterrupted thought, he appreciated the momentousness of the occasion, he knew how much was expected of him, and what was due to the honored dead, and he

did not trust to the inspiration of the moment or rely upon his readiness as an impromptu speaker when he dedicated the Soldiers' Cemetery at Gettysburg, for he had wrought and re-wrought until there came there into perfect form the noblest tribute to a cause and its heroes ever rendered by human lips.*

Major Lambert believed that both the two manuscripts in the Library of Congress which came from the president's secretaries were written before the president left Washington, but that the fair copy was inadvertently left in Washington.

Not one of the authorities cited in this list, or of the large number of others that might be quoted, is to be treated with disrespect. If we had any one of these accounts, and no other, we should be disposed to accept it as correct. The conflict of testimony on the part of honest men who had opportunity to know is one of the sobering facts which an author must face who undertakes to tell the true story of the Gettysburg Address, or of the life of Lincoln either in part or in whole.

The fifth answer is that the major part of the address was written in Washington, and that the president may have made a few notes on the train, but that he completed the address in the Wills house in Gettysburg.

Edward Everett sent to Lincoln in advance a copy of his address. Lincoln read and admired it. Noah Brooks, in his *Washington in Lincoln's Time* states that six days before his visit to Gettysburg the president took Everett's address with him on a visit to a photographer's, and read it between the sittings. Isaac Markens in his *Lincoln's Masterpiece* adduces a number of interesting parallels between Everett's address and Lincoln's. That Lincoln was impressed by Everett's oration is attested by his letter a year later, when, acknowledging a gift of flowers from the Gettysburg battle-field, he made a reference which was virtually a quotation. It appears possible that Everett's manuscript was one of the sources of Lincoln's inspiration.

**Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, October, 1909, pp. 385-408.

Honorable James Speed, in an interview in the *Louisville Commercial*, in November, 1870, stated that Lincoln told him that, on the day before his departure for Gettysburg, he found time to write about half of it. This probably is true. The first sheet is carefully written with a pen, on ordinary executive mansion stationery, and ends with an incomplete sentence. The original second sheet, in which the sentence was presumably completed, was not used. Lincoln erased the last three words on the first page,—the only erasure in the address,—and completed the sentence, and finished the address in pencil on a half-sheet of pale blue wide-lined legal cap, such as Lincoln was accustomed to use, and such as he employed in writing the second inaugural. John G. Nicolay declares that he was present, after breakfast, on the morning of the nineteenth, when Lincoln completed the writing of his address.

It was after the breakfast hour on the morning of the 19th that the writer, Mr. Lincoln's private secretary, went to the upper room in the house of Mr. Wills which Mr. Lincoln occupied, to report for duty, and remained with the President while he finished writing the Gettysburg address, during the short leisure he could utilize for this purpose before being called to take his place in the procession, which was announced on the program to move promptly at ten o'clock.

There is neither record, evidence, nor well-founded tradition that Mr. Lincoln did any writing, or made any notes, on the journey between Washington and Gettysburg. The train consisted of four passenger-coaches, and either composition or writing would have been extremely troublesome amid all the movement, the noise, the conversation, the greetings, and the questionings which ordinary courtesy required him to undergo in these surroundings; but still worse would have been the rockings and joltings of the train, rendering writing virtually impossible. Mr. Lincoln carried in his pocket the autograph manuscript of so much of his address as he had written at Washington the day before. Precisely what that was the reader can now see by turning to the facsimile reproduction of the original draft, which is for the first time printed and made public in this ar-

ticle. It fills one page of the letter-paper at that time habitually used in the Executive Mansion, containing the plainly printed blank heading; both paper and print giving convincing testimony to the simple and economic business methods then prevailing in the White House.

This portion of the manuscript begins with the line "Four score and seven years ago," and ends "it is rather for us the living," etc. The whole of this first page—nineteen lines—is written in ink in the President's strong, clear hand, without blot or erasure; and the last line is in the following form: "It is rather for us the living to stand here," the last three words being, like the rest, in ink. From the fact that this sentence is incomplete, we may infer that at the time of writing it in Washington the remainder of the sentence was also written in ink on another piece of paper. But when, at Gettysburg on the morning of the ceremonies, Mr. Lincoln finished his manuscript, he used a lead pencil with which he crossed out the last three words of the page, and wrote above them in pencil, "we here be dedica," at which point he took up a new half-sheet of paper—not white letter paper as before, but a bluish gray foolscap of large size with wide lines, habitually used by him for long or formal documents, and on this he wrote, all in pencil, the remainder of the word, and of the first draft of the address, comprising a total of nine lines and a half.

The time occupied in this final writing was probably about an hour, for it is not likely he left the breakfast table before nine o'clock, and the formation of the procession began at ten.*

IX THE DELIVERY OF LINCOLN'S ADDRESS

As to the manner of Lincoln's delivery, we have further conflict of testimony. Those who think that his remarks were purely extempore maintain that he used no notes. Others say that he held his manuscript in his left hand but did not read from it. Others say that he read every word as it was in the manuscript before him. Others say, and these I think are correct, that he held his manuscript in both hands, his glasses adjusted as for reading, and that he did in part read his address;

*John G. Nicolay in *Century Magazine* for February, 1894, pp. 601-602.

but that he was so familiar with the greater part of it that he did not need to confine himself to his notes, and that he did, in fact, depart from the language of the written text. On one point there is no important dissent. He did not gesticulate with his hands. He gave emphasis with a motion of his head and shoulders, but his hands were not uplifted.

As Everett approached his peroration, Lincoln grew visibly nervous, as he always did when another man was speaking and he was to follow. He took his manuscript from his pocket, adjusted his spectacles, and, during the closing portion of Everett's oration, refreshed his memory as to the content of his own speech. Either then, or while he was actually speaking, he made a few slight alterations.

The statement in Morse's *Life of Lincoln*, that, having finished the manuscript, he added a quotation from Webster's Reply to Hayne, is inexcusably incorrect. He did nothing of the kind.

X FORMS OF THE ADDRESS

Nicolay and Hay state that there are three sources of knowledge of the Gettysburg Address, Lincoln's original manuscript, the Associated Press report, and Lincoln's final revision, which he made with both the earlier versions before him. Major Lambert made some more extended comparisons. It would appear, however, that we might well place first among our sources of knowledge of what Lincoln actually said, the report made by Charles Hale of the *Boston Advertiser*. He was one of the three Massachusetts commissioners present at Gettysburg, and the three joined in the report to Governor John A. Andrew. In this document they stated positively that the versions of the address then current were all inaccurate, but that the form in which they gave it was "as the words actually spoken by the president, with great deliberation, were taken down by one of the undersigned."

Six times President Lincoln is known to have written the Gettysburg Address in full, and five of these copies are pre-

served. The first of these is the manuscript in which the major part of the address is written on the printed stationery of the executive mansion and the remainder, being a portion of the last sentence, in pencil on another sheet. There is reason to believe that he originally wrote something in ink on a second sheet, which, however, did not satisfy him, and which probably he never completed on that sheet, but finished on a new sheet after arrival in Gettysburg. The second text is little more than a fair copy of the first, and was quite certainly made before the delivery of the address. Both these are in the Library of Congress, and the paper on which the second part of the first version is written, and the two sheets of the second part, are both the wide-ruled paper which Lincoln was accustomed to use in the White House and on which he later wrote the second inaugural.

Nicolay's is by far the most direct testimony we have concerning the composition of the address. Lincoln, pressed by the heavy responsibilities of his position, and with scant time in which to prepare, did not, however, neglect his preparation. He had and read Mr. Everett's address some six days before the exercises—a courtesy on Mr. Everett's part which Lincoln must have appreciated and by which he profited—and while he felt the disparity between Everett's finished production and his necessarily crowded opportunity, he carefully used such time as he was able to command, and he came to the platform at Gettysburg with his brief address carefully thought out and painstakingly written. Each sentence had been framed in his mind before it was reduced to writing. The part written in ink in the White House contains no erasure in ink. The part written in pencil at Gettysburg shows no erasure. The only change is where the two join, at which point Lincoln modified his original intent and erased with his pencil three words which he had previously written in ink. After this, as I believe, Lincoln copied the entire address before delivering it and held the corrected copy in his hand during the delivery.

Lincoln made a third copy which is not known to be in existence. A few days after the Gettysburg dedication, Mr. Wills wrote to him and asked for the address to be preserved with the report of the proceedings. It was then that the president, noting the differences in form between his versions and those in the press reports, compared the several forms and made a more satisfactory text; but what became of this copy is not known.

The fourth, which is the third extant copy, was made in February, 1864, at the request of Mr. Everett, to be bound with the manuscript of his oration and Mr. Lincoln's letter to him dated November 20, 1863, in a volume to be sold for the United States Sanitary Commission.

The fifth was made at the request of Honorable George Bancroft who desired it for the benefit of the Soldiers and Sailors Fair in Baltimore. Lincoln wrote it on both sides of a sheet of paper.

As the copy made for Mr. Bancroft was unsuitable for reproduction, on account of its use of both sides of the sheet, the President made a sixth and final copy, in March, 1864, and this was used for the purposes of lithographic reproduction in facsimile in a book published for the benefit of the Fair, entitled *Autograph Leaves of Our Country's Authors*. This version embodies the results of Lincoln's mature thought, and may be accepted as the final form.

Not many of the changes made in these revisions were important, but one calls for comment. It is the insertion of the words "under God." This change occurred, I am confident, on the platform. In the first copy, Lincoln wrote the first page in ink, beginning the last paragraph in the last line of that page: "It is rather for us, the living, to stand here," but when he came to the completion of that sentence in pencil, he crossed out the last three words, and, in pencil on that page, wrote, "we here be dedicated." The remainder of that closing paragraph, comprised in one long sentence, is in pencil on the second page, a ruled sheet. The words "under God" are not in

it. The fair copy from which he read, and which he probably made in the Wills' house on the morning of the dedication, does not contain those words. My judgment is that under the solemn spell of the occasion, he determined to use those words, for they are in the Hale report and the Associated Press report, and Lincoln himself included those words in each revision of the address subsequent to its delivery.

Joseph L. Gilbert, the reporter for the Associated Press, telling the story in after years, stated that he did not take down the whole of Lincoln's address. Seeing that Lincoln was reading it from manuscript, he "unconsciously stopped taking notes" but obtained the manuscript from Lincoln before he left the stand and copied from the manuscript itself. The variations in the address as thus given to the world from the form shown in Lincoln's original manuscript are partly due, probably, to hasty copying, and partly to faulty telegraphic transmission. *Frank Leslie's* of New York, and the *Philadelphia Inquirer* appear to have had a report of their own, which varies still further, but that form need not be given here. For purposes of study and comparison, we may take, first, Charles Hale's report as giving us the best approach to an accurate transcript of what Lincoln actually said: secondly, Lincoln's original manuscript; thirdly, the Associated Press report, with its liberal intermixture of applause, not taken down at the time but inserted in the revision by the reporter; and finally, Lincoln's last revision of the address.

(Charles Hale's Report.)—Four score and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth
(Autograph Original Draft.)—Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth,
(Associated Press Report.)—Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth
(Revised Autograph Copy.)—Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth

upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that
upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that
upon this continent a new Nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that
on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that

all men are created equal.

"all men are created equal."

all men are created equal. [Applause.]

all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation—or any nation so
Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so
Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that Nation, or any Nation so
Now we are engaged in a great civil war; testing whether that nation, or any nation so

conceived and so dedicated—can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war.
 conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war.
 conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war.
 conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war.

We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who
 We have come to dedicate a portion of it, as the final resting place for those who died
 We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who
 We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who

have given their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we
 here, that the nation might live. This we may in all propriety do.
 here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we
 here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we

should do this.
 should do this.
 should do this.

But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow,
 But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—
 But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow
 But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—

this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it,
 this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have hallowed it
 this ground. The brave men living and dead who struggled here have consecrated it
 this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it

far above our power to add or detract. The world will very little note nor long
 far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long
 far above our power to add or detract. [Applause.] The world will little note nor long
 far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long

remember what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here. It is
 remember what we say here; while it can never forget what they did here. It is
 remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. [Applause] It is
 remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is

for us, the living, rather to be dedicated, here, to the unfinished work that they
 rather, for us, the living,
 for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they
 for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who

have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great
 have thus far so nobly carried on. [Applause.] It is rather for us to be here dedi-
 fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedi-

task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to
 task remaining before us—that, from these honored dead we take increased devotion to
 eated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased
 cated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased

that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here
 that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here
 devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that
 devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that

highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that the
 highly resolve these dead shall not have died in vain; that the
 we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain [applause]; that the
 we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this

nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the
 nation, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the
 nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom; and that governments of the
 nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the

people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.
 people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.
 people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth. [Long continued
 people by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth. applause.]

XI THE SOURCES OF THE ADDRESS

What were the sources of this notable address?

The first source was Lincoln's own little speech in response to a serenade on the night of July 4, 1863. On that occasion he thought first of the anniversary, and did not have in mind precisely how many years it had been since the Declaration of Independence, but knew that it was "eighty odd years since, on the fourth of July." On that day, as he then declared, "for the first time in the history of the world, a nation by its representatives assembled, declared as a self-evident truth that all men are created equal." This was the very thought with which he began at Gettysburg. The thought was not so precisely apposite, for the Declaration of Independence was not signed in November, but the idea still was pertinent. Meantime, he had looked up the date and computed the interval. It was eighty-seven years. It was more sonorous and metrical to say "four-score and seven years ago."

In that same little fourth of July speech he made the statement which he repeated at Gettysburg, that the purpose of the war was to determine whether that principle could survive as the basis of human government.

Especial interest attaches to the question, Where did Lincoln get the expression "government of the people, by the people, for the people"? It is frequently claimed that these words are found in the prologue of Wycliff's Bible; but they are not in any version of that Bible which I have been able to consult. Expressions similar in form and sentiment are found in a number of books that might or might not have been familiar to Lincoln; but the probable origin of the phrase as used by him was a sermon by Theodore Parker, *The Effect of Slavery on the American People*, delivered at Music Hall, Boston, July 4, 1858. He said:

Democracy is direct self-government, over all the people, for all the people, and by all the people.

Herndon declares that Lincoln was much impressed by these words and underlined them.

Hearers differed in their memory as to whether Lincoln emphasized the prepositions or the thrice repeated noun. Some thought he said,

"Government *of* the people, *by* the people, *for* the people."

Others remember him as having said:

"Government of the *people*, by the *people*, for the *people*."

Whatever the source from which Lincoln obtained the language, he had already made one important use of it. In his proclamation immediately following the fall of Fort Sumter, Lincoln said:

And this issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional republic or democracy—a government of the people by the same people—can or can not maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes.

It is remarkably interesting to note that thus early the question had defined itself in Lincoln's mind as a question whether any government established as the American Government was established could long endure; and that his determination from the hour of his first call for troops was to establish the result that government of the people by the same people, and for the common welfare of all the people, should not perish from the earth.

An interesting question relates to the words "under God." It has been conjectured that Lincoln inserted these at the suggestion of Seward, with whom he is said on good authority to have had some conference at Gettysburg on the night before the dedication. But the documentary evidence is against this conjecture. Those two words do not appear in either of the two Library of Congress versions, which were written before the delivery of the address, and they do appear in all the press reports, however defective otherwise, and in all three of Lincoln's sub-

sequent revisions. My own belief is that Lincoln interpolated them under the deep feeling of the occasion, and in his revisions was very glad to have them appear as a part of the address, as in very deed they were.

XII HOW THE ADDRESS WAS RECEIVED

How was the Gettysburg Address received? The Associated Press report indicates that it evoked applause three times during its delivery and at the close was greeted with "long continued applause." However, the Associated Press reporter, while remembering that there was applause, declared that the word was inserted where it was thought it belonged; the report sent out over the wire was not a verbatim report.

Reverend Doctor Henry Eyster Jacobs, of Gettysburg, says:

The fact of the applause we well remember, although we could not, without the memoranda there [i.e. the Associated Press report] venture to locate it.

Reverend Doctor H. C. Holloway, who heard the address, says concerning it:

I am well aware that a difference of opinion has been expressed in regard to the reception given by the people on the occasion of Mr. Lincoln's immortal speech. One writer in his little book, entitled, "The Perfect Tribute,"* which purported to give the story of Lincoln's Gettysburg speech, speaks of how the President for weeks was under a cloud of remorse over his address, believing it to have been a failure, etc. This is totally at variance with the facts in the case as we saw them. It is an unnatural interpretation of the occasion and does not comport with what actually occurred. The address was received with remarkable enthusiasm and in a manner becoming the great occasion.

There was one disappointing feature about it—its marked brevity. The speaker had, as we thought, but barely commenced

*Dr. Holloway apparently did not know the author was a woman.

when he stopped. That clear, ringing voice ceased before we were ready for it. There was a pause between the closing of the address and the applause because the people expected more; but when it was apparent that the address was really concluded, the applause was most hearty, rising like the sound of many waters.

Honorable Wayne MacVeagh, later Attorney General of the United States, heard the address and years afterward told of it as he thought he remembered it:

As he came forward he seemed to me, and I was sitting near to him, visibly to dominate the scene, and while over his plain and rugged countenance appeared to settle a great melancholy, it was somehow lightened by a great hope. As he began to speak I instinctively felt that the occasion was taking on a new grandeur, as of a great moment in history, and then there followed, in a slow and very impressive and far-reaching utterance, the words with which the whole world has long been familiar. As each word was spoken it appeared to me so clearly fraught with a message not only for us of his day, but for the untold generations of men, that before he concluded I found myself possessed of a reverential awe for its complete justification of the great war he was conducting, as if conducted, as in truth it was, in the interest of mankind. Surely at that moment he justified the inspired portraiture of Lowell in the "Commemoration Ode."

Arnold obtained a part of his information from Governor Dennison, Postmaster General, who was present and heard the address, and thus reports the effect of it:

Before the first sentence was completed, a thrill of feeling, like an electric shock, pervaded the crowd. That mysterious influence called magnetism, which sometimes so affects a popular assembly, spread to every heart. The vast audience was instantly hushed, and hung upon his every word and syllable. When he uttered the sentence: "the world will little *note* nor long remember what we *say* here, but it can never forget what they *did* here," every one felt that it was not the "honored dead" only, but the living actor and speaker, that the world for all time to come would note and remember, and that he, the speaker, in the thrilling words he was uttering, was linking his name forever

with the glory of the dead. He seemed so absorbed in honoring the "heroic sacrifices" of the soldiers, as utterly to forget himself, but all his hearers realized that the great actor in the drama stood before them, and that the words he was speaking would live as long as the language; that they were words which would be recalled in all future ages, among all peoples; as often as men should be called upon to die for liberty and country.*

Among those who listened to the Gettysburg Address and recorded at the time a favorable impression, was Benjamin Brown French, who on Sunday morning, November twenty-second, wrote an account of the exercises at Gettysburg which had occurred on the preceding Thursday. Mr. French wrote a hymn for the occasion and it was sung after Everett's address and before that of the president. Mr. French records:

"Mr. Everett was listened to with breathless silence by all that immense crowd, and he had his audience in tears many times during his masterly effort."

He then quotes his own hymn which was sung, and says:

"I was never so much flattered at any production of my own."

Mr. French was in a frame of mind to write his appreciation concerning anything that occurred that day. Concerning Lincoln's address he said:

"As soon as the hymn was sung, Marshal Lamon introduced the President of the United States, who in a few brief words dedicated the cemetery."

He then quotes the Gettysburg Address, as it appeared in the daily papers, and adds:

Abraham Lincoln was the idol of the American people at this moment. Any one who saw and heard the hurricane of applause that met his every word at Gettysburg, would know that he lived in every heart. It was no cold shadow of a kind reception. It

*Arnold, *Life of Lincoln*, p. 329.

was a tumultuous outpouring of exaltation from true and loving hearts at the sight of a man whom everyone knew to be honest and sincere in every act of his life and every pulsation of his heart. It was the spontaneous outburst of heartfelt confidence in *their own President*.*

Two facts must be noted concerning this account. One is that it was written under the influence of very marked enthusiasm and is manifestly an exaggeration. The other is that Mr. French gives no indication that this hurricane of applause was produced by the address, but by the appearance of Lincoln himself.

Joseph L. Gilbert, of Philadelphia, the Associated Press reporter who first gave to the world the Gettysburg Address, told the story of it at the National Shorthand Reporters' Association in August, 1917:

President Lincoln then came forward. I stood immediately in front of him and was impressed by his apparent excellent physical condition. His face, fringed by a newly grown beard, was more rounded and less care worn and haggard looking than formerly. He stood for a moment with hands clasped and head bowed in an attitude of mourning—a personification of the sorrow and sympathy of the nation. Adjusting his old-fashioned spectacles, a pair with arms reaching to his temples, he produced from the pocket of his Prince Albert coat several sheets of paper from which he read slowly and feelingly. His marvelous voice, careering in fullness of utterance and clearness of tone, was perfectly audible on the outskirts of the crowd. He made no gestures nor attempts at display, and none were needed. Fascinated by his intense earnestness and depth of feeling, I unconsciously stopped taking notes and looked up at him just as he glanced from his manuscript with a far away look in his eyes as if appealing from the few thousands before him to the invisible audience of countless millions whom his words were to reach. No one of the many orators whom, in after years, I heard repeat the

**Diary and Correspondence of Benjamin Brown French*, edited by his grandson, Amos Tuck French. A few copies printed for private circulation only. New York, 1904.

address ever made it sparkle with light and meaning as its great author did.

When he began speaking the President had comparatively few hearers, as hundreds who had come to hear him, wearied by Everett's two-hour oration, had wandered away. But his powerful voice speedily recalled the wanderers. Spell-bound with the majestic personality of the great man of whom they had heard so much and now saw for the first time, the multitude stood mute—many with uncovered heads—listening reverently as to an inspired oracle but seemingly unconscious of the spiritual excellence and moral grandeur of the great patriot's imperishable words. It was not a demonstrative nor even an appreciative audience. Narratives of the scene have described the tumultuous outbursts of enthusiasm accompanying the President's utterances. I heard none. There were no outward manifestations of feeling. His theme did not invite holiday applause, a cemetery was not the place for it, and he did not pause to receive it.

Lincoln wrote the address in Gettysburg at the residence of Judge David Wills, where he was a guest for a few hours. None of his attendants, not even his Secretary (Hay), knew of its preparation in advance of its delivery. At the Wills' mansion the President asked for the use of a private room and some writing material, remarking, "I suppose I will be expected to make some remarks out at the Cemetery this afternoon." His request was complied with, and in less than an hour he completed the address from rough notes made by him while on the train from Washington and others he had made, several weeks earlier, when a request from the Dedication Committee "to say a few words" was transmitted to him by Governor Curtin. The letter sheets from which he read were from Judge Wills' office. Before the dedication ceremonies closed, the President's manuscript was copied with his permission; and as the press report was made from a copy no transcript from shorthand notes was necessary.

It will be noted that Gilbert disclaims having made notes with sufficient accuracy to reproduce the speech from his shorthand report. Seeing that Lincoln was reading the address, or at least that he had the manuscript in his hands, he depended upon the use of the manuscript, which later in the day he was permitted to consult. He inserted "Applause" from memory, or from his

idea of the proper place for it. Fortunately, another reporter took down *verbatim* the words as Lincoln uttered them, slowly and deliberately. Through him we may have the precise words of Lincoln's address.

Lest the reader be too much disconcerted by these contradictions, let him read the varying newspaper accounts of the delivery of, let us say, President Harding's inaugural address, March 4, 1921. There was applause, of course. Was it hearty or perfunctory? Was there much of it or little? If all the people who clapped their hands had been gathered into a room of moderate size, there would have been no question that the applause was loud and strong. But in proportion to so great a company, out-of-doors, and most of the people standing too far back to feel any responsibility for expressions of approbation, was the hand-clapping loud or faint, enthusiastic or mildly complimentary? The answer depends upon the judgment, and somewhat upon the prejudice and the location of the reporter. It was even so at Gettysburg. At the time no one, not even the Associated Press reporter, was thinking about the precise places where some manifestation of approval occurred, and after that it was a matter of memory and judgment.

Among those who were in the best position to judge of the effect of Lincoln's address upon the audience that listened to it, was Ward Hill Lamon. He had entire charge of the special train that conveyed Lincoln and his party to Gettysburg, and the essential truth of his statement is confirmed by many who heard Lincoln's few remarks:

A day or two before the dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, Mr. Lincoln told me that he would be expected to make a speech on that occasion; that he was extremely busy and had no time for preparation; that he greatly feared he would not be able to acquit himself with credit, much less to fill the measure of public expectation. From his hat—the usual receptacle for his private notes and memoranda—he drew a sheet of foolscap, one side of which was closely written with what he

informed me was a memorandum of his intended address. This he read to me, first remarking that it was not at all satisfactory to him. It proved to be in substance, if not in exact words, what was afterwards printed as his famous Gettysburg speech.

After its delivery on the day of the commemoration, he expressed deep regret that he had not prepared it with greater care. He said to me on the stand, immediately after concluding the speech: "Lamon, that speech won't *scour*! It is a flat failure, and the people are disappointed." (The word "*scour*" he often used in expressing his positive conviction that a thing lacked merit, or would not stand the test of close criticism or the wear of time.) He seemed deeply concerned about what the people might think of his address; more deeply, in fact, than I had ever seen him on any public occasion. His frank and regretful condemnation of his effort, and more especially his manner of expressing that regret, struck me as somewhat remarkable; and my own impression was deepened by the fact that the orator of the day, Mr. Everett, and Secretary Seward both coincided in his unfavorable view of its merits.

The occasion was solemn, impressive, and grandly historic. The people, it is true, stood apparently spellbound; and the vast throng was hushed and awed into profound silence while Mr. Lincoln delivered his brief speech. But it seemed to him that this silence and attention to his words arose more from the solemnity of the ceremonies and the awful scenes which gave rise to them, than from anything he had said. He believed that the speech was a failure. He thought so at the time, and he never referred to it afterwards, in conversation with me, without some expression of unqualified regret that he had not made the speech better in every way.

On the platform from which Mr. Lincoln delivered his address, and only a moment after it was concluded, Mr. Seward turned to Mr. Everett and asked him what he thought of the President's speech. Mr. Everett replied, "It is not what I expected of him. I am disappointed." Then in his turn Mr. Everett asked, "What do you think of it, Mr. Seward?" The response was, "He has made a failure, and I am sorry for it. His speech was not equal to him." Mr. Seward then turned to me and asked, "Mr. Marshal, what do you think of it?" I answered, "I am sorry to say that it does not impress me as one of his great speeches."

In the face of these facts it has been repeatedly published that this speech was received by the audience with loud demonstrations of approval; that "amid the tears, sobs, and cheers it produced in the excited throng, the orator of the day, Mr. Everett, turned to Mr. Lincoln, grasped his hand and exclaimed, 'I congratulate you on your success!' adding in a transport of heated enthusiasm, 'Ah, Mr. President, how gladly would I give my hundred pages to be the author of your twenty lines!'" Nothing of the kind occurred. It is a slander on Mr. Everett, an injustice to Mr. Lincoln, and a falsification of history. Mr. Everett could not have used the words attributed to him, in the face of his own condemnation of the speech uttered a moment before, without subjecting himself to the charge of being a toady and a hypocrite; and he was neither the one nor the other.

As a matter of fact, the silence during the delivery of the speech, and the lack of hearty demonstration of approval immediately afterward, were taken by Mr. Lincoln as certain proof that it was not well received. In that opinion we all shared. If any person then present saw, or thought he saw, the marvelous beauties of that wonderful speech, as intelligent men in all lands now see and acknowledge them, his superabundant caution closed his lips and stayed his pen. Mr. Lincoln said to me after our return to Washington, "I tell you, Hill, that speech fell on the audience like a wet blanket. I am distressed about it. I ought to have prepared it with more care." Such continued to be his opinion of all his platform addresses up to the time of his death.

I state it as a fact, and without fear of contradiction, that this famous Gettysburg speech was not regarded by the audience to whom it was addressed, or by the press and people of the United States, as a production of extraordinary merit, nor was it commented on as such until after the death of its author.*

Colonel Carr says:

I am aware, because I noted it at the time, that in the Associated Press report, which appeared in the morning papers, there were punctuations "Applause" and "Long continued applause," according to the invariable custom in those times. Except as he concluded, I did not observe it, and at the close the applause was

**Recollections of Lincoln*, pp. 170-174.

not especially marked. The occasion was too solemn for any kind of boisterous demonstration.

Having conversed and corresponded with many men who heard Lincoln at Gettysburg, all of them truthful, as I believe, and most of them far above ordinary intelligence, I am prepared to produce material to prove the following statements:

Lincoln made no preparation for the address, but trusted to the inspiration of the occasion; he made no preparation until he reached Gettysburg, and wrote the address the night before its delivery, or on the morning of its delivery; he wrote it on the train; he wrote it in full in Washington and took it with him; he wrote it in full in Washington and inadvertently left it there; he wrote it partly in Washington, partly on the train, partly the night before delivery, and revised it on the morning of the delivery. He delivered the address without notes; he held his notes in his left hand but did not refer to them; he held his notes in his left hand and read them in part and in part spoke without them; he held the manuscript firmly in both hands, and did not read from it, or read from it in part, or read from it word for word as it was therein written. The address was received without enthusiasm and left the audience cold and disappointed; it was received in a reverent silence too deep for applause; it was received with feeble and perfunctory applause at the end, but it was the man and not the address that was applauded; it was received with applause in several places and followed by prolonged applause.

My own opinion is that he began it in Washington and finished it in Gettysburg on the morning of the delivery; that he held it in both hands but was not closely confined to it and that he made verbal departures from the manuscript, and that the applause was not loud or long, and that the general impression upon the audience and upon the men on the platform, including the president himself, was one of disappointment.

How was the Gettysburg Address actually received?

The first impression of the people who heard was one of frank curiosity. Few of them had ever heard or seen Lincoln before. There was a craning of necks and shifting of positions to get a good look at him.

The next impression was one of the disparity between the tall man and the thin high voice. Almost invariably this was the effect when Lincoln began to speak, especially when he spoke out-of-doors. The Gettysburg gathering was the first large outdoor assembly which he had formally addressed since his inaugural, two and a half years before, and Lincoln pitched his voice in a conscious effort to make the people hear. They heard and were surprised and almost amused at so large a man and so thin and high a voice.

The next impression was a realization that Lincoln was a southerner. He was addressing a northern audience which had largely forgotten that he was a Kentuckian. They now heard with a feeling of surprise, his southern intonation and one or two oddities of pronunciation. He pronounced the preposition "to" as if it were spelled "toe." The effect of this was heightened by his deliberate effort to speak distinctly.

In so far as his audience got an impression of the subject-matter of his address, it was that of the propositional and commonplace character of his affirmations. He was telling what everybody knew, and telling it in the simplest and most direct manner possible.

The next and final impression was one of astonishment. Lincoln stopped just when he seemed to have begun. No one expected him to end when he did. He appeared to have been called on to do a matter-of-fact and commonplace thing, and to have done it in a surprisingly matter-of-fact and commonplace way.

The earliest biographies of Lincoln after his address dismiss it with very brief mention. It remained for others than those who first heard and read this remarkable oration to discover within it the essential elements of the noblest oratory.

When the hour came for his "few remarks," he knew that he

had established no point of contact with his audience. At no time had they risen above superficial curiosity concerning him, into an atmosphere of sympathetic interest. They heard his commonplace introduction and the little homily that followed it, and just when they might have begun to be interested, he stopped. Lincoln knew that he had not succeeded.

In the days of his agricultural life he had had experience with rusty plows to whose mold-board the soil stuck instead of turning a clean-cut furrow. Such an effort seemed to him his speech at Gettysburg. It stuck to the mold-board. It did not "scour."

If Everett said to Lincoln that he would be glad to feel that he had said as much in two hours as Lincoln said in two minutes, that fact only shows that Everett knew how to pay a gracious compliment. It does not prove that Everett believed that Lincoln had delivered a real great address. Lincoln believed that he failed; Everett shared his opinion, and so with very few exceptions and none of them well established, did those who heard him speak.

Certain Democratic papers spoke slurringly of "the president's silly little speech," or criticized him for using soldiers' "graves as a stump for political oratory," or took issue with him in his affirmation of the basic principle of the American Government and the purpose of the Civil War. In the president's own home town, the *Register* quoted the first two sentences from his address, and said:

If the above extract means anything at all, it is that this Nation was created to secure the liberty of the negro as well as of the white race, and dedicated to the proposition that all men, white and black, were placed, or to be placed, upon terms of equality. That is what Mr. Lincoln means to say, and nothing else, and when he uttered the words he knew that he was falsifying history, and enunciating an exploded political humbug.

It is of interest to inquire what reference was made to the Gettysburg Address in the sermons preached throughout the

country on the Sunday immediately following the death of Lincoln, or on one of the Sundays immediately succeeding. Reverend E. T. Carnahan, of Gettysburg, preached an excellent discourse, which is preserved in print. The sermon was prepared with care, not being delivered on the day following Lincoln's death, but on that proclaimed by President Johnson as a day of public mourning, June 1, 1865. The sermon is full of praise for Lincoln, and shows the result of mature thought; but it contains no suggestion that Lincoln had ever been in Gettysburg, no allusion to the address as something which the people of the congregation had heard and remembered. That church had been used as a hospital during and after the battle. Down its aisle Abraham Lincoln had walked with John Burns and sat in a pew still proudly shown. There he had attended a service on the afternoon of the dedication. But the sermon contained no allusion to the fact, no reminder that the dead president had once been a worshiper with that congregation in a service so solemn that the one commemorative of his death must have seemed a reminder of it.

A number of ministers, however, did make reference to this address. They did not refer to it as "the Gettysburg Address," nor assume that the congregations had it in mind. They spoke of it as "the few remarks" with which the president followed the "eloquent address" of Edward Everett. They all spoke of it in terms of appreciation, and at least one of them, Reverend John McClintock, cited it as evidence of Lincoln's intellectual power. Almost if not quite invariably the use they made of it was to urge upon their congregations a dedication of themselves to the uncompleted task for which Lincoln had given his life.*

XIII THE RECOGNITION OF MERIT

If the audience that listened to the Gettysburg speech did not

*Among them were Reverend Doctors A. N. Littlejohn, James Eells and John McClintock, of New York, and Henry Wilder Foote, Warren H. Cudsworth, W. S. Studley, James Reed and R. H. Neale, of Boston.

discover that it was a great address, who did discover it? Not the leading editors of the United States. Horace Greeley made no editorial comment in the *Tribune*, and neither did James Gordon Bennett nor Thurlow Weed nor Joseph Medill. J. G. Holland, in the *Springfield* (Massachusetts) *Republican*, on the day following the address made this editorial comment:

Surpassingly fine as Mr. Everett's oration was in the Gettysburg consecration, the rhetorical honors of the occasion were won by President Lincoln. His little speech is a perfect gem; deep in feeling, compact in thought and expression, and tasteful and elegant in every word and comma. Then it has the merit of unexpectedness in its verbal perfection and beauty. We had grown so accustomed to homely and imperfect phrase in his productions that we had come to think it was the law of his utterance. But this shows he can talk handsomely as well as act sensibly. Turn back and read it over, it will well repay study as a model speech. Strong feelings and a large brain were its parents—a little painstaking its accoucher.

The *Providence Journal*, also, was one of the few newspapers to make immediate and favorable comment:

We know not where to look for a more admirable speech than the brief one which the President made at the close of Mr. Everett's oration. It is often said that the hardest thing in the world is to make a five-minutes' speech. But could the most elaborate and splendid oration be more beautiful, more touching, more inspiring, than those thrilling words of the President? They had in our humble judgment the charm and power of the very highest eloquence.

The *Evening Bulletin* of Philadelphia, said:

The President's brief speech of dedication is most happily expressed. It is warm, earnest, unaffected, and touching. Thousands who would not read the long, elaborate oration of Mr. Everett will read the President's few words, and not many will do it without a moistening of the eye and a swelling of the heart.

The statement often made that English editors were first to recognize the beauty of this production is without foundation.* No one man or group of men discovered the Gettysburg Address. Its worth dawned gradually on the mind of the American people, and a little later on the people of England. Credit must be given to Goldwin Smith for the following brilliant encomium in *MacMillan's Magazine* of February, 1865:

That Lincoln is something more than a boor his address at Gettysburg will in itself suffice to prove. There are one or two phrases here, such as "dedicated to the proposition," which betray a hand untrained in fine writing, and are proofs that the composition is Lincoln's own. But looking at the substance it may be doubted whether any king in Europe would have expressed himself more royally than the peasant's son. And even as to form we cannot help remarking that simplicity of structure and pregnancy of meaning are the true characteristics of the classical style. Is it easy to believe that the man who had the native good taste to produce this address would be capable of committing gross indecencies, that he would call for comic songs to be sung over soldiers' graves?

XIV THE ADDRESS AS LITERATURE

As a literary production the Gettysburg Address is not wholly beyond criticism. Lincoln himself felt that it was too propositional, too didactic. It seemed to be lacking in emotional appeal. The extreme brevity of the production, however, made this almost inevitable. The phrase "dedicated to the proposition," has been very generally criticized. It is said that Matthew Arnold stopped there and was never able to finish the reading of the address. It shows some limitation in the use of adjectives—"a *great* civil war," "a *great* battlefield of that war." The word "*that*" is used twelve times, six of them in the final sentence. That sentence is too long and too much involved. It

*Mr. Isaac Markens and other careful students have searched earnestly, and in vain, for proof of this affirmation, and not only have not found it but have discovered enough to prove that it is not true.

is difficult to remember at the end what was the subject with which it was started; Lincoln himself apparently was not quite clear on this point. These are the criticisms which a pedant might discover and which pedants have discovered in the Gettysburg Address. They are, however, but spots upon the sun. Spite of these trivial rhetorical infelicities the Gettysburg Address is what it is. It rises superior to all such criticisms.

Colonel Carr has pointed out that short as it is, it includes all the essential parts of a formal oration. There is an *exordium* of five short and clear sentences introducing the theme and defining clearly the approach to the discussion. There is an *argument* of four sentences and the climax is reached in the last of these. Then there is the dignified *peroration* in one long sentence. He counts the Gettysburg Address as containing two hundred and sixty-seven words. Thirty-two of them are of Latin origin and with repetitions make a total of forty-six. The other two hundred and thirty-one words are Anglo-Saxon. Four-fifths of the address is in its origin old English.

One of the most discriminating and just of all tributes to the Gettysburg Address, including as it should a tribute also to the second inaugural, is to be found in the Rede Lecture, by Earl Curzon, of Kedleston, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, delivered before the University of Cambridge on November 6, 1913, on "Modern Parliamentary Eloquence." Speaking of the decline of eloquence of modern parliamentary bodies, and raising the question whether that decline was to be regarded as temporary or permanent, he assured his hearers that eloquence could not possibly have taken its final leave of parliamentary bodies. He said:

Just as the oratory of the Georgian era was attuned to an aristocratic age, and that of the Victorian epoch to the middle-class ascendancy, so does it seem to me likely that democracy will produce an eloquence, even an oratory of its own. Should a man arise from the ranks of the people, as Abraham Lincoln from the back-woods of America, a man gifted with real ora-

torical power, and with commanding genius, I can see no reason why he should not revive in England the glories of a Chatham or a Grattan. His triumphs might be less in the Senate than in the arena: his style might not be that of the classics of the past. But he might by reason of his gifts climb to the topmost place, where he would sway the destinies of the State, and affect the fortunes of an empire.

Earl Curzon's closing paragraphs contain even a finer tribute to Lincoln. He felt that the character of his own address had been such, surveying as he did in outline the history of British parliamentary oratory, that he might be expected to designate what he regarded "as the supreme masterpiece." He found three of which he said that they "emerge with a superiority which, if not disputable, will perhaps not be seriously disputed—much in the same way as the 'Funeral Oration' of Pericles was generally allowed to be the masterpiece of the ancient world." These three "supreme masterpieces" of English eloquence he said were, the toast of William Pitt after the victory at Trafalgar, and Lincoln's two speeches, the Gettysburg Address and the second inaugural.

That Lord Curzon should have come to America for two of these three masterpieces was highly complimentary to the oratory of this country. But it was even more significant that both of these addresses should have been by Abraham Lincoln. Of them he said:

They were uttered by a man who had been a country farmer and a district lawyer before he became a statesman. But they are among the glories and treasures of mankind. I escape the task of deciding which is the masterpiece of modern English eloquence by awarding the prize to an American.

The Gettysburg Address is far more than a pleasing piece of occasional oratory. It is a marvelous piece of English composition. It is a pure well of English undefiled. It sets one to inquiring with nothing short of wonder "How knoweth this man

letters, having never learned?" The more closely the address is analyzed the more one must confess astonishment at its choice of words, the precision of its thought, its simplicity, directness and effectiveness.

But it is more than an admirable piece of English composition, it is an amazingly comprehensive and forceful presentation of the principles for which the war then was waging. It was a truthful recital of the events which lay behind the gathering at Gettysburg, and an interpretation of the spirit of the occasion. It joined the local to the national, the occasional to the permanent; it went straight at a declaration of the purpose which animated the soul of Abraham Lincoln, and for which the men buried at Gettysburg had given their lives. Above all it was a declaration of America's fundamental principles. It truthfully represented the spirit of that for which men fought, not only at Gettysburg but at Runnymede, at Bunker Hill, and on the plains of Flanders. The long, hard fought battle for the liberation of humanity has been a struggle for the rights and welfare of humanity.

There is no indication in Lincoln's address that he or any of his hearers appreciated the full significance of the Gettysburg victory. Lincoln said no word to indicate that he believed that Pickett would never lead another brigade against the fatal stone wall, or that that charge and its repulse would justify the erection of a high-water mark monument where such a monument now stands. It was reserved for those who could see that battle in perspective to discover and declare that what the men who fought at Gettysburg did was to settle the question whether a government like that of the United States could long endure. Lincoln referred to it merely as "a great battle-field of that war." He did not know it, but it was that battle-field which decided the answer to the question which his address proposed. Very near to the spot where Lincoln stood when he uttered those words, the thunders of war uttered the decree of Providence that government of the people, by the people and for the people, should not perish from the earth.

CHAPTER XVI

THE TURN OF THE TIDE

It is now plain that when General Lee was defeated at Gettysburg the South lost its last reasonable hope of successful invasion of the North. It is equally clear that the capture of Vicksburg by General Grant, permitting the Mississippi, in the felicitous phrase of Abraham Lincoln, "to flow unvexed to the sea," effected a hopeless division of Confederate territory and established a base line from which the Confederacy of the East was certain to be pushed ever inward upon Richmond. The fate of the *Merrimac* destroyed any hope of the Confederates that they might dictate terms of peace by the capture of Washington, and it also served notice on foreign nations that the blockade of the Confederate ports would be made increasingly effective. Sherman's march to the sea cut another swath through the heart of the Confederacy. Before his advancing hosts was terror, and behind it were ashes. Apart from any discussion of the military value of his exploit, he showed that the Confederate defenses were a hollow shell and that the South was strained to the utmost to keep up her resistance. His path of devastation, three hundred miles long and sixty miles wide, divided again the Confederacy, which the gunboats of Commodore Foote had cut in twain along the Mississippi's length.

It is very easy now for us to see these facts and appreciate their true significance, but it was not easy nor even possible for the nation, or even its leaders, to understand them at that time. A fierce controversy waged for years, and is still unsettled, as to how far the victory at Gettysburg is one for which the commander of the army deserves credit. There were those, even among his own generals, who questioned whether General

Meade recognized his victory after he had won it. General Doubleday, in his history of the battles of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, affirms that:

After the battle Meade had not the slightest desire to recommence the struggle. . . . It was hard to convince him that Lee was actually gone.

He also declared that on the morning of July fourth, after the defeat of Pickett's charge, and with Lee's army in full retreat, Meade said he thought he could hold out against Lee for part of another day.* Meade, however, in later years did not admit that he thus misunderstood his own victory.

Lincoln was sadly disappointed that Lee was not pursued, and his army captured or annihilated, after his defeat at Gettysburg. He said that he would give much to be free from the impression that Meade was willing to have him get away. He did not doubt Meade's loyalty, but gravely questioned his power of initiative. He sat down and wrote a letter to Meade containing the following rebuke:

My dear General, I do not believe you appreciate the magnitude of the misfortune involved in Lee's escape. He was within your easy grasp, and to have closed upon him would, in connection with our other late successes, have ended the war. As it is, the war will be prolonged indefinitely. If you could not safely attack Lee last Monday, how can you possibly do so south of the river, when you can take with you very few more than two-thirds of the force you then had in hand? It would be unreasonable to expect and I do not expect that you can now effect much. Your golden opportunity is gone, and I am distressed immeasurably because of it.

I beg you will not consider this a prosecution or persecution of yourself. As you had learned that I was dissatisfied, I have thought it best to kindly tell you why.

**Chancellorsville and Gettysburg*, by Abner Doubleday, in *Campaigns of the Civil War*, Series VI, pp. 208, 209.

After he had written it he thought the matter over and decided not to send it, so it remained among his papers unpublished until years afterward.

This is not the only time Lincoln relieved his feelings by writing a letter and then deciding not to send it. Once hearing a man speak very abusively of another, Lincoln advised him to put all his invective into a letter addressed to the man in question. The letter was written and read to Lincoln, who commended it for its severity. The writer was pleased and asked him, "How would you advise me to send it?" "Send it," said Lincoln. "Oh, I wouldn't send it. I sometimes write a letter like that and it does me good, but I never send it."

At this time, however, Lincoln wrote another letter and did send it. If Meade had pursued Lee, it might have been mailed to him, but it was addressed to General Grant. The letter was as follows:

Washington, July 13, 1863.

Major-General Grant.

My Dear General: I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you have done the country. I wish to say a word further. When you first reached the vicinity of Vicksburg, I thought you should do what you finally did—march the troops across the neck, run the batteries with the transports, and thus go below; and I never had any faith, except a general hope that you knew better than I, that the Yazoo Pass expedition and the like could succeed. When you got below and took Port Gibson, Grand Gulf, and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join General Banks, and when you turned northward, east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make the personal acknowledgment that you were right and I was wrong. Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

Ulysses S. Grant was a graduate of West Point, where his record as a student was only moderately good. Among his associates while there in school and in subsequent service in the

Mexican War, were a number of brilliant leaders of the Confederate Army, most of whom could remember that their record in the class-room had been better than that of Grant. In the beginning of the Civil War he had been assigned a commonplace task of inspecting army equipments, but was called to more active service through the influence of his friend and townsman, Elihu B. Washburne, Representative in Congress from Galena, Illinois.

General Grant's first services were inconspicuous but successful. He emerged into prominence by his capture of Fort Donelson, where he demanded and secured unconditional surrender. His firmness in demanding and his success in securing this result, while McClellan in the Army of the Potomac was timidly waiting for the enemy to come and offer to be captured, put great heart into the faltering hope of the Union. His initials came to be accepted as applicable to another name than that which at West Point had displaced the name of his baptism, and he was called "Unconditional Surrender" Grant. The laurels which he won at Donelson he almost lost at Shiloh. On the first day of that battle his army was defeated. Grant was criticized for having placed his army on the side of the Tennessee next to the enemy, and leaving it thus exposed to surprise and successful onslaught. He was criticized for being some miles from the front when the battle began. He was declared to have been intoxicated on the first day of the battle. It was still further alleged that if Buell had not arrived when he did, the success of the second day would have been in doubt. How keenly Grant felt these strictures is known to every reader of the *Century War Book*, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, and of Grant's *Memoirs*. General Halleck disliked Grant, and virtually put him under arrest after the battle of Shiloh. The partisans of Buell loudly proclaimed that but for his timely arrival and superior generalship, Grant and his army would either have been captured or crowded into the Tennessee River. Men in high places declared him to be a man of very mediocre military ability.

But Lincoln had growing faith in the taciturn, bullet-headed soldier from Illinois. It gratified him that Grant took the command that was given to him and went ahead with it, not teasing for impossibilities. The memory of McClellan's perpetual wail for more men and munitions found a pleasant contrast in the silence and pertinacity of Grant. When people asked Lincoln what Grant was doing, Lincoln said frankly that he did not know. Said he, "General Grant is a very meager letter-writer and telegrapher, but a very copious fighter." He said, "I don't know General Grant's plans, and I do not care to know them; I know he has plans, and is at work carrying them out."

When he was told that General Grant drank, he asked, "Can you tell me the brand of liquor? I should like to send some of it to my other generals."

Thus Grant continued as a major general in spite of all efforts to discredit him.

Abraham Lincoln never considered himself an authority in military matters. He never used his own early title of captain.* His references to his own experiences in the Black Hawk War were generally humorous, and his one speech in Congress where he made reference to it, that reference was almost in burlesque. He was disposed to trust his general and his secretary of war.

Nevertheless, Abraham Lincoln was not without practical wisdom in military matters. It was his daily custom to go over to the War Department and read the despatches from beginning to end. He studied the maps of the various war fronts. The few suggestions that he made to army officers about plans of the campaign were intelligent suggestions and showed a certain native shrewdness and practical sagacity which had in them the essentials of true military judgment.

*Mr. David Davis, of Bloomington, Illinois, has shown me his father's papers on Abraham Lincoln, which, unfortunately, are few in number. I find, however, a statement by Judge David Davis that when Lincoln first came upon the circuit he was sometimes called captain, and did not resent it; but neither did he welcome it; and the title though evidently his, fell rather soon into disuse.

His first letter to Grant congratulating him upon the capture of Vicksburg showed how intelligently Lincoln had been following Grant's movements in the siege of that city. The capture of Vicksburg had involved very severe tactical problems. Vicksburg was on a bluff, and the land occupied by the Union Armies was largely swamp land. Grant endeavored to transport a portion of his fleet below the city, and to this end labored long in the digging of a canal which did not prove a success. At length the hazardous expedition was attempted of running the batteries. A large fleet of gunboats and transports was prepared, and, on the night of the sixteenth of April, 1863, these vessels made a successful passage down the river. The expedition was considered so hazardous that men were not commanded to undertake it, but volunteers were called for. So many men volunteered that selections had to be made. Although some of the boats were damaged and one set on fire, the vessels made the dangerous run in an hour and a quarter and without the loss of a single life.

Grant had done this work so silently, so methodically, so determinedly and in the end so successfully, as to take the nation by surprise. It was almost incredible that simultaneously two such victories should have been won as were won at Gettysburg and at Vicksburg.

But there was this difference in the sequel. Meade having defeated Lee, permitted Lee and his army to escape, so that Lee's army had to be fought again and again for almost two years. Meade rested on his laurels. Grant not only captured Pemberton and his army, but quietly went to work making other plans and saying very little about them. Lincoln did not fail to note the contrast, not only between Grant and Meade, but between Grant and every other general whom up to that time he had known.

At the beginning of 1864 General Grant was still personally unknown to the president, the secretary of war, and very nearly all of official Washington. The Thirty-eighth Congress had recently convened, and Elihu B. Washburne introduced a bill creating the office of lieutenant general. The bill became a law,

and on February 22, 1864, Lincoln appointed Ulysses S. Grant to this office, making him commander-in-chief under the president, of all the armies in the United States.

For the first time during the war, Grant visited the capital. He arrived on the eighth of March, and that evening called at the White House. A levee was in progress. Grant entered unannounced, and virtually unknown. Lincoln recognized him, and Grant was immediately hailed as a hero. This experience greatly embarrassed Grant.

On the following day, in the presence of a few friends gathered in the White House, the president presented General Grant his commission in as simple a fashion as perhaps ever accompanied an incident conferring power of this character and extent. The two speeches made on that occasion have been preserved.

President Lincoln said:

“General Grant: The nation’s appreciation of what you have done, and its reliance upon you for what remains to be done in the existing great struggle, are now presented with this commission, constituting you Lieutenant General in the army of the United States. With this high honor devolves upon you also a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need to add, that with what I here speak for the nation, goes my own hearty personal concurrence.”

To this General Grant made the following reply:

“Mr. President: I accept the commission with gratitude for the high honor conferred. With the aid of the noble armies that have fought on so many fields for our common country, it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations. I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving on me, and I know that if they are met, it will be due to those armies, and above all to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men.”

Honorable John P. Usher, Secretary of the Interior, in an address delivered a quarter-century later,* related his memories of the scene when Lincoln assembled the Cabinet to meet General Grant, and receive his commission. Not one member of the Cabinet, as Usher recalled, had seen Grant. Lincoln did not remember having met him, and said so to Grant, but Grant told Lincoln that he had gone over from Galena to Freeport and had listened to Lincoln and Douglas there in 1858 and shaken hands in the crowd with Lincoln afterward. Mr. Usher said that President Lincoln did not inform the Cabinet in advance of the reason for their having been called together, and while they were assembling, and all of them present except Stanton, he was at work at his disordered desk. General Grant entered the room with Secretary Stanton and General Halleck, and without speaking to any one as they entered, the three walked quickly to the desk and stood before it. The president rose, and standing across the desk from the three, read his short address. General Grant then produced what Usher thought hardly more than a quarter sheet of paper and read his acceptance. He said that Grant stood, as one or more of his photographs show him, in the awkward position known as "hip-shot," and that when he began to read his acceptance, he was so embarrassed that he did not inflate his lungs, and his voice failed him. Grant had been holding the paper in his right hand. When he found that even so simple an effort at oratory required more breath than he had supposed, he changed his position, stood erect with shoulders back, took the paper in both hands, and inhaling a deep breath, began again and quietly read the paper through. It is a detail of no great historic value, but it has the life-like touch that belongs to authentic memory. Usher further relates that it was Lincoln's friend, Judge T. Lyle Dickey, who after the battle of

*This incident was narrated by Mr. Usher in an address which he delivered at a banquet in Wyandotte, Kansas, June 20, 1887. It was delivered impromptu, but on the following day was dictated to Mr. Nelson H. Loomis, who subsequently became General Solicitor for the Union Pacific Railroad Company. A few copies were printed for private distribution. It deserves a wider publication.

Corinth, brought to Lincoln so favorable a report of Grant that Lincoln entertained a sincere regard for him before they met, and never afterward doubted Grant's ability to command the nation's armies.

It will be noted that the phrase "*under God*" which the president had interpolated at Gettysburg was not permitted to drop out of his vocabulary, but was used on the presentation of the commission to General Grant and on other occasions. General Grant, also, in his acceptance used similar language.

The president and the new lieutenant general stepped into a photograph gallery and had their pictures taken, and both proceeded to forget the matter, and neither ever saw the photographs that were made. The unretouched negatives were discovered after many years.*

Mrs. Lincoln desired to make the most socially of General Grant's visit to Washington. When the general came to the White House to receive his commission, he found awaiting him an invitation from the mistress of the White House to dine at the executive mansion that evening and attend afterward a party to be given in his honor. General Grant declined with thanks. "Mrs. Lincoln must excuse me," he said. "I must be in Tennessee at a given time." "But we can't excuse you," said President Lincoln, "Mrs. Lincoln's dinner without you would be the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out." "I appreciate the honor Mrs. Lincoln would do me," replied General Grant, "but time is very important now; and really, Mr. Lincoln, I have had enough of this show business."

So just as Washington was getting on its best clothes and

*On the centenary of Lincoln's birth in 1899, it was my privilege to address a celebration in Chicago, the other speaker being General Frederick D. Grant. I informed him that I was in Washington soon after the discovery of these now famous negatives, and had secured an early print of each. He had never seen either of them. A few days later I showed them both to him. He was present with his father on the occasion when these sittings occurred, and it was his first visit to Washington. He was greatly pleased with the photographs, which he pronounced to be excellent representations of his father and of President Lincoln on the day when he first met the latter.

ready to entertain in proper form the new lieutenant general in command of all the armies of the United States, General Grant slipped out of Washington as quietly as he had slipped in, and went back to the army.

Grant said to Lincoln that he wished to return to Nashville and put his command into Sherman's hands, and that it would take him nine days to do that and other necessary things in the West. At the end of nine days he was back in Washington, but as reluctant as ever to participate in any display. After a short interview with Lincoln, he went to the front with the Army of the Potomac.

The appointment of Grant lifted a great load from the shoulders of Lincoln. He had a strong conviction that Grant would evolve a comprehensive plan of campaign, and would hold to it persistently and carry it to a successful issue. He gave to Grant that confidence and support which he had freely given to the successive commanders of the Army of the Potomac. He had now elevated Grant above Meade without displacing Meade. He had also promoted Grant above Sherman and all the other major generals. Grant said he believed that Sherman was an abler general than himself, and more deserving of the honor. But that did not prevent Grant from taking hold of the situation and seeing the matter through.

As Lincoln did not hear from Grant, he thought well to write to him, and on April thirtieth, sent him a letter containing the following as its most significant word:

You are vigilant and self-reliant, and pleased with this I wish not to obtrude any restraints or constraints upon you. . . . If there be anything wanting in my power to give, do not fail to let me know. And now, with a brave army and a just cause, may God sustain you.

Grant subsequently wrote the analysis of the situation as he found it when he became lieutenant general:

The armies in the East and West acted independently and without concert, like a balky team, no two ever pulling together; enabling the enemy to use to a great advantage his interior lines of communication for transporting troops from East to West, re-enforcing the army most vigorously pressed, and to furlough large numbers, during seasons of inactivity on our part, to go to their homes and do the work of producing for the support of their armies. It was a question whether our numerical strength and resources were not more than balanced by these disadvantages and the enemy's superior position.

From the first I was firm in the conviction that no peace could be had that would be stable and conducive to the happiness of the people, both North and South, until the military power of the rebellion was entirely broken. I therefore determined; *first*, to use the greatest number of troops practicable against the armed force of the enemy; preventing him from using the same force at different seasons against first one and then another of our armies, and the possibility of repose for refitting and producing necessary supplies for carrying on resistance. *Second*, to hammer continuously against the armed force of the enemy and his resources, until by mere attrition, if in no other way, there should be nothing left to him but an equal submission with the loyal section of our common country to the Constitution and laws of the land.

Whether Grant was a truly great general or not is a question which may be discussed by those who care to discuss it. For the purpose of this biography of Lincoln it is sufficient to record that from the day of Grant's appointment the president experienced a sense of relief. Grant's plan of campaign was simple. He made no claim to being a brilliant strategist. He determined to employ all the armies east and west, to one common closing in upon the armed forces of the Confederacy, and forcing them into closer and closer quarters until they should be compelled to give up the struggle.* Grant knew this plan would involve heavy losses to the Union forces. They must operate upon a longer front and on the offensive. Any success

*General Grant's plan was not unlike the "Anaconda" which General Scott recommended to McClellan, and that general cavalierly rejected.

they won would commonly be with loss heavier than that which they were able to inflict. To gain a given end, they must expect to lose men, and must reckon that they could afford to lose more men than the Confederates, but they could not afford to let the war go on as a series of disconnected skirmishes.

Lincoln had enough military wisdom to understand and approve this plan. He said that he made no pretense of being either a military leader or a financier; but he was enough of both to know that when a nation got into war it must push the war with some vigor or the nation would be demoralized and bankrupt.

General Grant set to work upon this plan. He fought bloody battles and sustained heavy losses. The losses did not daunt him. He announced his intention to fight it out on that line if it took all summer. It took all summer and all winter and part of the spring, but Grant fought it out on that line just as Lincoln believed that he would do.

CHAPTER XVII

THE DRAFT RIOTS

ABRAHAM LINCOLN believed with good reason in the loyalty of the people of East Tennessee, and maintained that by permitting the Confederate Armies to operate in that region, the Union was in danger of losing a most valuable stake. In Knoxville, Parson Brownlow had edited the *Knoxville Whig*, to which title he later added the name "and *Rebel Ventilator*." Brownlow had been driven out. The mountain region of Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia had furnished large numbers of men for the Union Army, but Lincoln felt that his generals did not value highly enough the adherence of the people of that region to the Union. Burnside after his defeat at Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, was sent west. Lincoln desired that he should move through East Tennessee and unite with Rosecrans at Chattanooga. Burnside reached Knoxville, and there encountered Longstreet, and for a considerable time got no farther. Lincoln, eagerly waiting for news from him, came almost to welcome bad news. On November 24, 1863, there were tidings of firing at Knoxville. It was the first word from Knoxville for several days. John Hay's diary quotes Lincoln as saying that any news that showed Burnside was not overwhelmed was cheering:

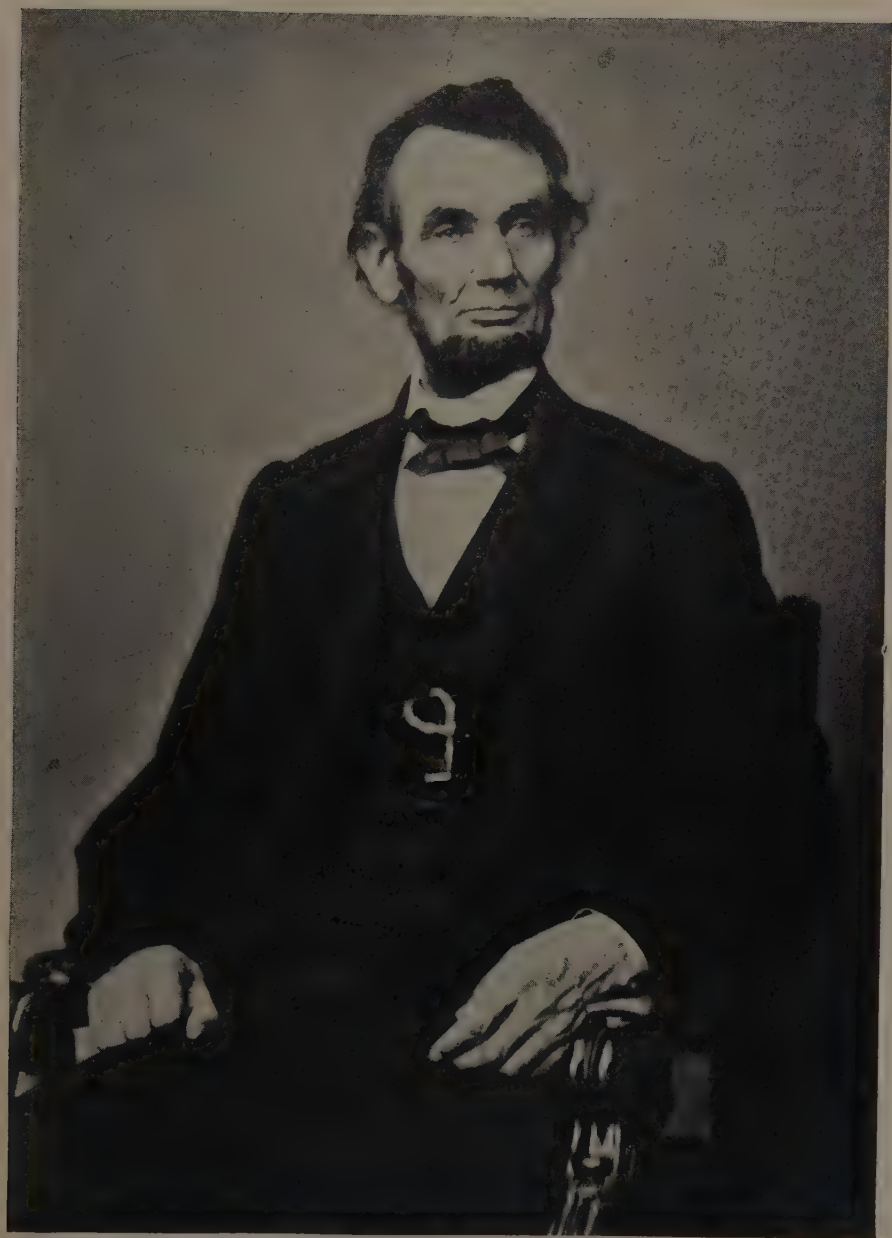
"Like Sally Carter, when she heard one of her children squall, would say, 'There goes one of my young ones! Not dead yet, bless the Lord!'"

Rosecrans too, delayed his campaign at Chattanooga until he was out-generaled by Bragg and in danger of losing his whole army.

This was before Grant had been made commander-in-chief and Lincoln himself was virtually assuming the responsibility of that position. He removed Rosecrans after his defeat at Chickamauga, and placed Thomas in his stead. He sent Sherman from the west and Hooker from the east with reenforcements, and he appointed Grant to the command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, which included the three departments of the Ohio, Cumberland and the Tennessee. Grant disliked Rosecrans, and greatly liked Thomas. Sherman, also, Grant trusted fully. As for Hooker, Grant believed in him as a general capable of a brilliant dash, but not capable of managing a sustained campaign. He says in his *Memoirs* concerning him, that Hooker was brilliant but unreliable, and given to the habit of gathering about him a group of younger officers and fighting a spectacular battle of his own, regardless of the particular thing he was set to do.

Grant took command at Chattanooga in the autumn of 1863. He found Rosecrans still there, and generously ready to communicate his plans. "They were good plans," said General Grant, "I only wondered why he had not carried them out." Grant, however, did not carry out the plans of Rosecrans. Chattanooga was so well surrounded by the Confederates fortified on high elevations, that nothing but a determined and courageous battle would save it. On November 24 and 25, 1863, that battle occurred. General Hooker, who had almost lost his soubriquet of "Fighting Joe" at Chancellorsville, regained it at Chattanooga. Phil Sheridan, also, led in a brilliant and successful charge. The Union flag was planted on the summit of Lookout Mountain. The charge upon Missionary Ridge succeeded beyond the hope of the commanding general. The soldiers had been ordered to take the rifle pits at the foot of the mountain, and then halt and re-form; but in the ardor of their success they moved on up the slope, captured the cannon at the top, and turned them upon the retreating foe.

This victory, when it occurred, did much to establish confidence in the ultimate success of the Union cause; but success was



Courtesy of F. H. Meserve, owner of the Brady negatives.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Photograph by Brady, February 9, 1864

long in coming. Meantime, sentiment in the North against the war was not diminishing.

On March 3, 1863, a bill was passed for the enrollment of the entire military force of the United States. The passage of this law was promptly followed by a draft of three hundred thousand men. There had been a time earlier in the war when such a call was answered with enthusiasm. Quotas had been filled rather promptly. Volunteers had offered themselves, singing as they came, "We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more." That time had passed. Three hundred thousand more men could be obtained only by desperate exertion. The several northern states paid high bounties to secure their quota, preferring this to the unpopular method of draft. The bounty system was a necessary evil. And so, also, was the provision that a man who was drafted might hire a substitute.*

*It became more or less popular for men who were not personally liable to military service to hire substitutes. The men thus hired were men who had not been drawn in the draft-lottery, and who were ready, for a sum of money, to take the place of some one drafted, but who preferred not to go. In this way, Grover Cleveland, later president, provided a substitute when he was drafted; and Abraham Lincoln, himself exempt, hired a substitute, to be credited to the lagging quota of the District of Columbia. Whether Lincoln's substitute was paid or whether he offered himself in love for the president, is not of record. Probably, however, Lincoln paid him the current honorarium, if it may be so called, for this service. The grave of Lincoln's substitute is at Shroudsburg, Pennsylvania.

The man who represented Lincoln in person was John Summerfield Staples, a young volunteer from Pennsylvania, aged about twenty-one years. Having been introduced to the president, this young man signified a desire to fill the honorable position as his substitute and Lincoln gladly accepted him. The evidence of the employment of a substitute by Lincoln, is contained in the following official statement of the commissioner of pensions:

Washington, D. C., May 11, 1910.

"John Summerfield Staples, residing at Stroudsburg, Pa., filed an application for pension in 1882, stating that in the Civil War he had served in Company C, One Hundred and Seventy-Sixth Pennsylvania Militia, and afterwards in Company H, Second District of Columbia Infantry, and that in his second enlistment he was a substitute for Abraham Lincoln.

"The records show that said soldier enlisted November 2, in Company C, One Hundred and Seventy-Sixth Pennsylvania drafted militia, that he was honorably discharged, May 5, 1863, and that he afterwards enlisted April 3, 1864, in Company H, Second District of Columbia Volunteers, from which he was honorably discharged at Alexandria, Va., September 12, 1865, and the record also shows that in this last service he was enrolled as a representative of Abraham Lincoln, who was not liable to draft.

"It is shown by the papers on file in this case that during the war, the

The United States learned better at the time of the World War. No man called by the draft could buy a substitute with money.

In New York City in the summer of 1863 a riot occurred. On July thirteenth, attempts to enforce the draft were opposed by a mob. The office of the marshal having charge of the draft was broken into and set on fire. The mob prevented the fire department from extinguishing the flame. A negro orphan asylum was burned, and negroes were hung from lamp posts.

In the New York riots the conspicuous leaders of the mob were Irishmen, and men of southern birth. Lincoln was compelled to send troops to New York to quell the draft riot, and chose General Kilpatrick, whose name, he believed, would have influence with the Irish. The mob was quelled, and order was restored, but not until many outrages had been perpetrated. Nor were the Irish and the southerners of New York the only ones who gave to this disturbance their moral support, if not their active participation. Opposition to the draft was widely prevalent and very powerful.

At this juncture, even the friends of the administration were greatly distressed. A large meeting was called in Illinois for September 3, 1863. All friends of the Union of all parties were invited to meet at the capital and consider the grave situation. A communication was sent to Lincoln from his old neighbors inviting him to attend in person and address the meeting. Lincoln could not go, but sent a letter to his old neighbor, Honorable James C. Conkling, to be read at the meeting.

This letter has not always been understood. Its tone was so earnest, so almost severe, it has been thought that Lincoln in-

President decided that he would place in the army a substitute to the credit of the District of Columbia, and that he communicated his desire to do so to the provost marshal of the district, with a request that he select the person who should be placed in the service, and that the provost marshal then sent for Noble D. Larner, then a prominent citizen of this city, and stated to him the President's wishes, and Mr. Larner afterwards succeeded in getting the substitute in the person of Mr. Staples, and he was afterwards mustered into the service.

(Signed)

"J. L. Davenport, Commissioner."

tended to censure those who had invited him to be present, and that he possibly meant to rebuke the man to whom the letter was addressed. There is no ground for this opinion, nor does the letter itself give color to it. The meeting gave Lincoln the opportunity of addressing the entire country, and especially those who at heart believed in the Union but were perplexed by the trend of events.

When he employs the second person and says, "You say that you will not fight to free negroes; some of them seem willing to fight for you," he was not addressing Conkling or his own neighbors. He was continuing, after a digression, his address to those who were dissatisfied with him. The letter is a manly and straightforward document, and shows how the president whom some people supposed to be a weak and pliable man, could be and was inflexible in a cause which he believed to be right.

Lincoln's personal letter to Conkling, which accompanied this official communication, contained this single instruction, "Read it very slowly."

EXECUTIVE MANSION

Washington, August 26, 1863.

Hon. James C. Conkling.

My Dear Sir: Your letter inviting me to attend a mass meeting of unconditional Union men, to be held at the capital of Illinois, on the 3d day of September, has been received. It would be very agreeable for me thus to meet my old friends at my own home; but I cannot just now be absent from here so long as a visit there would require.

The meeting is to be of all those who maintain unconditional devotion to the Union; and I am sure that my old political friends will thank me for tendering, as I do, the nation's gratitude to those other noble men whom no partisan malice or partisan hope can make false to the nation's life.

There are those who are dissatisfied with me. To such I would say: You desire peace, and you blame me that we do not have it. But how can we attain it? There are but three conceivable ways: First—to suppress the rebellion by force of arms. This I am trying to do. Are you for it? If you are, so far we

are agreed. If you are not for it, a *second* way is to give up the Union. I am against this. Are you for it? If you are, you should say so plainly. If you are not for *force*, nor yet for *dissolution*, there only remains some imaginable *compromise*.

I do not believe that any compromise embracing the maintenance of the Union is now possible. All that I learn leads to a directly opposite belief. The strength of the rebellion is its military, its army. That army dominates all the country, and all the people within its range. Any offer of terms made by any man or men within that range, in opposition to that army, is simply nothing for the present; because such man or men have no power whatever to enforce their side of a compromise if one were made with them.

To illustrate: Suppose refugees from the South and peace men of the North get together in convention, and frame and proclaim a compromise embracing a restoration of the Union. In what way can that compromise be used to keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania? Meade's army can keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania, and, I think, can ultimately drive it out of existence. But no paper compromise to which the controllers of Lee's army are not agreed, can at all affect that army. In an effort at such compromise we would waste time, which the enemy would improve to our disadvantage; and that would be all.

A compromise, to be effective, must be made either with those who control the rebel army, or with the people, first liberated from the domination of that army by the success of our own army. Now, allow me to assure you that no word or intimation from that rebel army, or from any of the men controlling it, in relation of any peace compromise, has ever come to my knowledge or belief. All charges and insinuations to the contrary are deceptive and groundless. And I promise you that if any such proposition shall hereafter come, it shall not be rejected and kept a secret from you. I freely acknowledge myself to be the servant of the people, according to the bond of service, the United States Constitution; and that, as such, I am responsible to them.

But, to be plain. You are dissatisfied with me about the negro. Quite likely there is a difference of opinion between you and myself upon that subject. I certainly wish that all men could be free, while you, I suppose, do not. Yet, I have neither adopted nor proposed any measure which is not consistent with even your view, provided that you are for the Union. I suggested

compensated emancipation; to which you replied you wished not to be taxed to buy negroes. But I had not asked you to be taxed to buy negroes, except in such a way as to save you from greater taxation to save the Union exclusively by other means.

You dislike the emancipation proclamation, and perhaps would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutional. I think differently. I think the Constitution invests its Commander-in-Chief with the law of war in time of war. The most that can be said, if so much, is, that slaves are property. Is there, has there ever been, any question that by the law of war, property, both of enemies and friends, may be taken when needed? And is it not needed whenever it helps us and hurts the enemy? Armies, the world over, destroy enemies' property when they cannot use it; and even destroy their own to keep it from the enemy. Civilized belligerents do all in their power to help themselves or hurt the enemy, except a few things regarded as barbarous or cruel. Among the exceptions are the massacre of vanquished foes and non-combatants, male and female.

But the proclamation, as law, either is valid or is not valid. If it is not valid, it needs no retraction. If it is valid, it cannot be retracted, any more than the dead can be brought to life. Some of you profess to think its retraction would operate favorably for the Union. Why better *after* the retraction than *before* the issue? There was more than a year and a half of trial to suppress the rebellion before the proclamation was issued, the last one hundred days of which passed under an explicit notice that it was coming, unless averted by those in revolt returning to their allegiance. The war has certainly progressed as favorably for us since the issue of the proclamation as before.

I know as fully as one can know the opinion of others, that some of the commanders of our armies in the field, who have given us our most important victories, believe the emancipation policy and the use of colored troops constitute the heaviest blows yet dealt to the rebellion, and that at least one of those important successes could not have been achieved when it was, but for the aid of the black soldiers.

Among the commanders who hold these views are some who have never had an affinity with what is called "abolitionism," or with "republican party politics," but who hold them purely as military opinions. I submit their opinions as entitled to some weight against the objections often urged that emancipation and

arming the blacks are unwise as military measures, and were not adopted as such in good faith.

You say that you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you; but no matter. Fight you, then, exclusively to save the Union. I issued the proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then for you to declare you will not fight to free negroes. I thought that in your struggle for the Union, to whatever extent the negroes shall cease helping the enemy, to that extent it weakened the enemy in his resistance to you. Do you think differently? I thought whatever negroes can be got to do as soldiers, leaves just so much less for white soldiers to do in saving the Union. Does it appear otherwise to you? But negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us, they must be prompted by the strongest motives, even the promise of freedom. And the promise, being made, must be kept.

The signs look better. The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea. Thanks to the great Northwest for it; nor yet wholly to them. Three hundred miles up they met New England, Empire, Keystone, and Jersey, hewing their way right and left. The sunny South, too, in more colors than one, also lent a helping hand. On the spot, their part of the history was jotted down in black and white. The job was a great national one, and let none be slighted who bore an honorable part in it. And while those who have cleared the great river may well be proud, even that is not all. It is hard to say that anything has been more bravely and well done than at Antietam, Murfreesboro. Gettysburg, and on many fields of less note. Nor must Uncle Sam's web feet be forgotten. At all the watery margins they have been present, not only on the deep sea, the broad bay, and the rapid river, but also up the narrow, muddy bayou, and wherever the ground was a little damp, they have been and made their tracks. Thanks to all. For the great Republic—for the principle it lives by and keeps alive—for man's vast future—thanks to all.

Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon and come to stay; and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time. It will then have been proved that among

freemen there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the cost. And there will be some black men who can remember that with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation, while I fear there will be some white ones unable to forget that with malignant heart and deceitful speech they have striven to hinder it.

Still, let us not be over-sanguine of a speedy, final triumph. Let us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that a just God, in his own good time, will give us the rightful result.

Yours, very truly,

A. Lincoln.

It will be remembered that in the congressional and gubernatorial election of 1862, a strong reaction against Lincoln had been manifest throughout the North. In the autumn of 1863 several states elected governors. Greatly to Lincoln's satisfaction these elections showed a trend of sentiment favorable to the administration. Every state in which elections were held, except New Jersey, gave large majorities for the administration. The result was peculiarly gratifying in Ohio. There the Democratic Party had nominated for governor Clement L. Vallandigham. His disloyalty made him a national figure and of him the nation had heard and yet was to hear much. Ohio in 1863 sustained the president and defeated Vallandigham by a majority of almost one hundred thousand.

This election and the victories around Chattanooga were bright spots in a sky greatly darkened. Lincoln still had much to perplex and dishearten him.

CHAPTER XVIII

JUSTICE AND MERCY

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL characterized Abraham Lincoln as "a man clothed with almost absolute power, who never abused it except on the side of mercy." That mercy, Lincoln had abundant occasion to exercise.

As the war went on, it became necessary for the army to enforce its discipline by punishments against its own soldiers who were guilty of crimes or misdemeanors. Not all soldiers were patriots. Many a man reached the recruiting officer about two leaps ahead of the sheriff. Not a few men in jail for misdemeanors and even for criminal offenses were pardoned on condition that they enter the army. War itself produces criminals. It teaches men to disregard their own word and other men's property and life. There is no crime in the calendar which is not committed by soldiers in every war.

In general these crimes were punished with no more than necessary severity; and, when there were mitigating circumstances, officers well below the president were willing and competent to consider them. Only a very small fraction of the cases of punishment came to his desk. It was only when, all other appeals having been found futile, and usually for just cause, a sentence was to be carried into effect, the friends of guilty men appealed to the president for pardon. The very fact that appeal was taken to him is proof presumptive that the accused had exhausted all ordinary, and probably reasonable, efforts to secure pardon. It is little wonder that when Lincoln interfered in these usually flagrant cases, generals in command protested, and

Stanton stormed. The president was breaking down the discipline of the army.

"I know it, but I don't see that shooting him would do any good," Lincoln would say.

He sincerely pitied the man who was found guilty of cowardice. Lincoln was accustomed to say that he was not sure but that he himself would run if he were placed in the front in battle.

It is but fair to say concerning some of the stories of Lincoln's alleged clemency, that so far as is known they are not true.

The attitude of Abraham Lincoln toward the undeserving is entitled to more careful and discriminating treatment than it usually receives. Two natures strove within him. On the one hand, he had a keen sense of justice, and a high regard for law and order. The deliberate violator of law deserved punishment, and society required for its protection that he be punished. So Abraham Lincoln believed; but he also had high regard for the welfare of the man who had broken the law. When he became president, no burden rested more heavily upon him than the fact that in certain cases he had either to accept the judgment of courts sentencing soldiers to be shot, or to interfere in their behalf.

Lincoln was a man of deep sympathy, but his sympathy had a certain well-defined limitation. He felt sympathy where he could see or visualize the personal sorrow that was caused by an act or condition. What was out of sight was more or less out of mind. Lincoln was always able to visualize the case of the individual soldier and of his family. He could see the woman in black before him, declaring that her husband or elder son had lost his life on the battle-field, and that now her youngest son, her baby, was sentenced to be shot for some wholly technical offense. Lincoln had little time to investigate and it is to be feared that in some cases the alleged widow had rented the black clothes for the occasion, and had help in inventing the fiction about her family.

In cases of this character Lincoln was very easily imposed

upon, and the imposture was to the great detriment of the service. In the long run it had been better for the discipline of the army if he had kept his hands off except in cases where the mitigating circumstances were more pronounced than was usually the case.

Literature since the war has been rather full of stories of the pardons issued by Lincoln. One of them, particularly, the case of William Scott, of Vermont, has become the occasion of much oratory and literature. It comes to us on the authority of Honorable L. E. Chittenden, who was register of the treasury from 1861 till 1865. According to this story, Scott, a private in a Vermont regiment, volunteered to act as sentinel in place of a friend who was sick, and so was awake all night, the first time in his life. On the very next night he himself was called out to act as sentinel. On this second night he went to sleep at his post. His commanding officer, General W. F. Smith, known to the soldiers as "Baldy" felt that the sentence of the court-martial must be inflicted, and that sentence was death. Some of his comrades went to Chittenden, who was a Vermonter, and offered to hire him as an attorney to plead the case of Scott in an appeal to the president. Chittenden refused their money, but went with them to Lincoln, who pardoned the boy. Scott became a more than ordinarily faithful and brave soldier and died nobly in battle.

Mr. Chittenden, while in ordinary matters a truthful man, was a very unreliable historian. Charles Francis Adams had occasion to review one incident recorded by Mr. Chittenden, to discover the "residuum" of truth in it. When Mr. Adams had done with it, the "residuum" was about as great as the speck of soapy water that remains after the pricking of a soap bubble.* Not that Mr. Chittenden was the greatest liar in Washington; he was not. But he was one of many men who colored their

*See Mr. Adams' paper on *The Laird Rams* in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, October, 1899; reprinted with changes in his *Studies Military and Diplomatic*, MacMillan, 1911.

memories with their imagination until their accounts became wholly unsafe as historical data.

It would be interesting to know whether any soldier was actually shot to death during the Civil War for going to sleep on guard duty. Thus far the War Department has not found any such case. During the World War, though there were convictions, no soldier was actually shot for this offense. The Military Law of the United States does not permit the extreme penalty for this offense in time of peace, though at any time it is a grave offense; but it is a penalty permitted, though rarely imposed, in time of war.* It would appear quite improbable that a capital sentence should have been imposed where there were so many and such mitigating circumstances as are assembled in the popular story of William Scott. The record does not show that Scott offered in his own defense any such evidence. Apparently he was not required to stay awake all night, much less two successive nights. He was one of three men stationed at a given point, dividing the night into three watches. Between three and four o'clock in the morning the officer of the guard found all three asleep. There was no dispute as to the facts. Scott, having had two-thirds of a night's sleep, and being charged with responsibility for an important post, went to sleep on duty. His two companions had a right to sleep. He was the guilty man. The prisoner, though he pleaded "Not guilty," offered no defense and produced no witnesses. Apparently there were no mitigating circumstances. The rules of war provide that "The fact that the accused had been previously overtaxed by excessive guard duty is not a defense, although evidence to that effect may be received in extenuation of the offense." Apparently there was no such evidence, except such as was later manufactured by sentimental authors for the benefit of posterity.

Who pardoned the prisoner or mitigated the sentence does not appear of record. There is no evidence that Lincoln ever knew

*See the Eighty-Sixth Article of the *Manual for Courts Martial*, p. 242. Government Printing Office.

of the case, though he may have done so. If any such case came to his knowledge, with such mitigating circumstances, it is easy to guess what he would have done.

What we know is that Scott did not die. The sentence of death was pronounced, and may have had its salutary effect upon sleepy young Vermonters; but he did not die. A petition was signed by officers and privates of his regiment, this petition being addressed to General Smith. Whether he or some superior officer or the president pardoned Scott, or whether the sentence was mitigated, is not of record. The fact we know is that whoever exercised mercy in this case appears to have been justified. William Scott, a native of Groton, Vermont, enrolled as a private in Company K, Third Vermont Regiment, was shot in the chest in the battle at Lee's Mills, in the vicinity of Yorktown, Virginia, April 16, 1862, and died on the following day. Perhaps Lincoln pardoned him; he pardoned many men less worthy. It is much more likely that it was not necessary to appeal to Lincoln; if his pardon had been by the president, some record should be available. We do not know. Mr. Chittenden was a truthful man and a lawyer of experience, but he was a very inaccurate historian.

The adjutant general of the army writes:

Nothing has been found of record to show that President Lincoln pardoned a Vermont soldier named William Scott sentenced to die for the offense of sleeping on post.

It is possible that a pardon for such an offense may have been granted by President Lincoln in one or more cases, [of sleeping on duty] but in the absence of the name of the soldier it would probably be impracticable to identify the record thereof.

A record has been found of the pardon by President Lincoln of a private of Company E, 3rd Regiment New York Infantry Volunteers, who had been found guilty by a general court martial, sitting at Fort Monroe, Virginia, in October, 1862, of sleeping on post, and sentenced to forfeiture of pay and allowances and confinement at hard labor for the term of one year. The President, on January 3, 1863, ordered the case examined

for mitigating circumstances, and on February 28, 1863, ordered that the part of the sentence remaining unexecuted be remitted. The directions issued in the case by President Lincoln are in his handwriting.

It is shown that this soldier was subsequently honorably discharged. Nothing is found to show that he was afterwards killed.

Usually, a soldier sentenced to be shot, had against him some charge more serious than going to sleep on sentry duty. Perhaps the most frequent charge was desertion. Bounty jumping became a very profitable vocation, and was indulged in by literally thousands of men, who accepted pay for enlisting, and on the first convenient occasion deserted, and promptly accepted pay for enlisting again under some other name in some other regiment, and then deserting again. Not many men were shot for merely getting homesick and running away; they were punished by imprisonment or loss of pay, and given hard and perhaps perilous duty. Now and then a deserter was sentenced to be shot, and in some extreme cases, deserters were shot.

Now and then a deserter, facing the practical certainty of arrest for his offense, hastened to the White House and was fortunate if he got there ahead of the officers of justice. The following letter* is not known to have been published:

EXECUTIVE MANSION

Washington, Feb. 24, 1865.

To-day H— H— voluntarily calls under apprehension of being punished as a deserter. Now on condition that he serves out his term Co. A in 50th New York Engineers, he is fully pardoned for any supposed desertion.

A. Lincoln.

Romancers are under strong temptation to invent a sequel to such stories and to show how the men pardoned died bravely on the field of battle. To the right of the main corridor, just in front of the entrance of the National Museum in Washington is

*From the original in the collection of Oliver R. Barrett, Chicago.

a *facsimile* of a letter from Lincoln pardoning a deserter. The letter is genuine; not so the appended note which tells that this letter was found on the body of the soldier to whom Lincoln gave it. That letter follows:

EXECUTIVE MANSION

Washington, Oct. 4, 1864.

Upon condition that Roswell McIntyre of Co. E. 6th Regt. of New York Cavalry returns to his Regiment and faithfully serves out his term, making up for lost time, or until otherwise lawfully discharged, he is fully pardoned for any supposed desertion heretofore committed; and this paper is his pass to go to his regiment.

Abraham Lincoln.

This note accompanies the letter:

Taken from the body of R. McIntyre at the battle of Five Forks, Va., 1865.

That appended note is untrue. Roswell McIntyre was not killed in the battle of Five Forks, or in any other battle of the Civil War.

How seriously the army was suffering on account of desertions, Lincoln perhaps realized better after a visit to McClellan's army in June of 1862, for on his return to Washington, he wrote to McClellan under date of July 13, 1862:

My dear sir: I am told that over 160,000 men have gone into your army on the Peninsula. When I was with you the other day, we made out 86,500 remaining, leaving 73,500 to be accounted for. I believe 23,500 will cover all the killed, wounded, and missing in all your battles and skirmishes, leaving 50,000 who have left otherwise. Not more than 5,000 of these have died, leaving 45,000 of your army alive and not with it. I believe half or two-thirds of them are fit for duty to-day. Have you any more perfect knowledge of this than I have? If I am right, and you had these men with you, you could go into Richmond in the next three days. How can they be got to you, and how can they be prevented from getting away in such numbers for the future?

A. Lincoln.

Lincoln pardoned some guilty soldiers just because they were young. "His mother says he is but seventeen," was his reason in one case. "I am unwilling for any boy under eighteen to be shot," he telegraphed in another case.

He found it very difficult to resist the appeal of women. If there were no places in Washington where they rented widow's clothes and attractive babies to women who wanted to make appeals to the president, an abundant supply was obtainable and was used persistently. Lincoln was not unaware of his weakness when women made their appeal to him.

Donn Piatt, one of the brightest newspaper writers in the country, told a good story in regard to the president's refusal to sanction the death penalty in cases of desertion from the Union Army.

"There was far more policy in this course," said Piatt, "than kind feeling. To assert the contrary is to detract from Lincoln's force of character, as well as intellect. Our war-president was not lost in his high admiration of brigadiers and major generals, and had a positive dislike for their methods and the despotism upon which an army is based. He knew that he was dependent upon volunteers for soldiers, and to force upon such men as those the stern discipline of the Regular Army was to render the service unpopular. And it pleased him to be the source of mercy, as well as the fountain of honor, in this direction.

"I was sitting with General Dan Tyler, of Connecticut, in the ante-chamber of the War Department, shortly after the adjournment of the Buell Court of Inquiry, of which we had been members, when President Lincoln came in from the room of Secretary Stanton. Seeing us, he said: 'Well, gentlemen, have you any matter worth reporting?'

" 'I think so, Mr. President,' replied General Tyler. 'We had it proven that Bragg, with less than ten thousand men, drove your eighty-three thousand men under Buell back from before Chattanooga, down to the Ohio at Louisville, marched around

us twice, then doubled us up at Perryville, and finally got out of the state of Kentucky with all his plunder.'

"'Now, Tyler,' returned the president, 'what is the meaning of all this; what is the lesson? Don't our men march as well, and fight as well, as these rebels? If not, there is a fault somewhere. We are all of the same family—same sort.'

"'Yes, there is a lesson,' replied General Tyler; 'we are of the same sort, but subject to different handling. Bragg's little force was superior to our larger number because he had it under control. If a man left his ranks, he was punished; if he deserted, he was shot. We had nothing of that sort. If we attempt to shoot a deserter you pardon him, and our army is without discipline.'

"The president looked perplexed. 'Why do you interfere?' continued General Tyler. 'Congress has taken from you all responsibility.'

"'Yes,' answered the president impatiently, 'Congress has taken the responsibility and left the women to howl all about me,' and so he strode away."

Lincoln had sympathy for the deserter, when his offense was induced by homesickness; and he pardoned every man for whom he could find an excuse, and some for whom there was no excuse. How many such men he pardoned, the War Department does not know; but the number was large. Was it too large? For the sake of military discipline, it was far too large; but Lincoln's heart told him there were other and valid considerations. Perhaps, under the circumstances, it was better that Lincoln should have abused his great power on the side of mercy.

The actual number of desertions from the United States Army during the Civil War is unknown, but it has been estimated, from the best data obtainable, that the number of actual deserters at large at the close of that war (making due allowance for those incorrectly reported as deserters) was 117,247, and that the total number of desertions during the war was not less than 200,000.

Many cases of desertion have been removed by the War Department under the acts of July 5, 1884, May 17, 1886, and March 2, 1889, and the acts amendatory thereof on the ground of error in the record. No record has been kept showing the number of cases in which the charges of desertion have been removed by the War Department, and it would be impossible to determine the number, even approximately, without examining in detail the records of the Department from the war period to the present time.

According to the most recently compiled official statistics on deaths in the United States Army during the Civil War, a total of 267 soldiers was executed by the United States military authorities. How many of those 267 men were sentenced to death as the result of their conviction under a charge of desertion is not known, no attempt having ever been made by the Department to classify those cases according to the nature of the charges preferred.

The War Department is unable to state to what extent President Lincoln intervened to save the lives of convicted deserters who had been sentenced to die, no data having ever been gathered by the Department bearing upon the subject. His proclamation of March 10, 1863, respecting soldiers absent without leave must have saved thousands of men from the stigma of being classed as deserters, some of them, doubtless, also from conviction and execution. In that proclamation, after commanding all soldiers then absent from their regiments without leave to return to their commands, he continued as follows:

And I do hereby declare and proclaim, that all soldiers now absent from their respective regiments without leave, who shall, on or before the first day of April, 1863, report themselves at any rendezvous designated by the General Orders of the War Department number fifty-eight, hereto annexed, may be restored to their respective regiments without punishment, except the forfeiture of pay and allowances during their absence; and all who do not return within the time above specified shall be arrested as deserters, and punished as the law provides. \

In the matter of Lincoln's sympathy for women and of his sometimes making mistakes, the famous letter to Mrs. Lydia Bixby is an illustration, though in that case the prime responsibility for the mistake rested not upon Lincoln but upon Governor John A. Andrew, of Massachusetts. Mrs. Bixby had, indeed, five sons, but not all of them were in the army, and not all of those that were in the army were killed; it is just possible that one or more of them deserved to be killed. The letter grew out of a mistaken knowledge of the facts. But the mistake concerning the facts, while it diminishes the honor of some members of the Bixby family, detracts nothing from the noble and sympathetic spirit of Abraham Lincoln:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, November 21, 1864.

Mrs. Bixby, Boston, Massachusetts.

Dear Madam: I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice on the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,
Abraham Lincoln.

Lincoln was not the only tender-hearted man in Washington, and some men who came to know of cases that appealed to their sympathies conspired to help women in their approach to Lincoln. One of the stories told, it is said by John Sherman, may indicate that General Sherman's brother had as tender a heart toward women as Lincoln had, or for that matter, General Sherman himself:

Senator Sherman had an appointment with President Lincoln

at six o'clock one afternoon, and as he entered the vestibule of the White House his attention was attracted toward a poorly clad young woman, who was violently sobbing. He asked her the cause of her distress. She said she had been ordered away by the servants, after vainly waiting many hours to see the president about her only brother, who had been condemned to death. Her story was this:

She and her brother were foreigners, and orphans. They had been in this country several years. Her brother enlisted in the army, but, through bad influences, was induced to desert. He was captured, tried and sentenced to be shot—the old story.

The poor girl had obtained the signatures of some persons who had formerly known him, to a petition for a pardon, and alone had come to Washington to lay the case before the president. Thronged as the waiting-rooms always were, she had passed the long hours of two days trying in vain to get an audience, and had at length been ordered away.

Senator Sherman's feelings were touched. He said to her that he had come to see the president, but did not know if he would succeed. He told her, however, to follow him up-stairs, and he would see what could be done for her.

Just before reaching the door, Mr. Lincoln came out, and, meeting the senator, said good-humoredly, "Are you not ahead of time?" Sherman showed him his watch, with the hand upon the hour of six.

"Well," returned Mr. Lincoln, "I have been so busy to-day that I have not had time to get a lunch. Go in and sit down; I will be back directly."

Senator Sherman made the young woman accompany him into the office, and when they were seated, said to her: "Now, my good girl, I want you to muster all the courage you have in the world. When the president comes back, he will sit down in that armchair. I shall get up to speak to him, and as I do so you must force yourself between us, and insist upon his examination of your papers, telling him it is a case of life and death, and admits of no delay."

These instructions were carried out to the letter. Mr. Lincoln was at first somewhat surprised at the apparent forwardness of the young woman, but observing her distressed appearance, he ceased conversation with Senator Sherman, and commenced an examination of the document she had placed in his hands.

Glancing from it to the face of the petitioner, whose tears had broken forth afresh, he studied its expression for a moment, and then his eye fell upon her scanty but neat dress. Instantly his face lighted up.

"My poor girl," said he, "you have come here with no governor, or senator, or member of Congress to plead your cause. You seem honest and truthful; and you don't wear hoopskirts—and I will be whipped, but I will pardon your brother." And he did.

It was never easy for Lincoln to refuse the requests of his friends. When political appointments were desired, and the applicants brought or caused to be sent great numbers of letters of endorsement, some of them signed by Lincoln's personal friends, he found it hard to be as inflexible as in loyalty to conscience he sometimes was. It is recorded that, on one occasion, being confronted by two piles of letters written by friends of two different applicants, he simplified his problem by tossing both bundles unopened into a scale and appointing the man that had presented the heavier package. On one occasion, the sole recommendation received by him on behalf of a second lieutenant who desired promotion was from that officer's wife. This rather pleased Lincoln, who thought that it was much to a man's credit that his wife believed in him, and he wrote to Stanton:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Nov. 13, 1861.

Hon. Sec. of War.

My dear sir

Please have the Adjutant General ascertain whether 2nd. Lieut of Co. D. 2nd. Infantry—Alexander E. Drake, is not en-

titled to promotion—His wife thinks he is. Please have this looked into.

Yours truly
A. Lincoln

My honored and lamented friend, Honorable Daniel Fish, of Minneapolis, compiler of the well-known *Lincoln Bibliography*, owned the original letter of a young woman in Pennsylvania who wrote to Lincoln asking a furlough for her lover. The pathetic story is told in the following missive, and its effect on Lincoln is plainly indicated by his autograph endorsement:

April 5, 1864

Washington Co., Pa.

To the Honorable
Abraham Lincoln
President of U. S. A.
Hon. Sir

After long hesitation through dread and fear I have at last concluded to inform you of my troubles. In order to make the case clear it is necessary to give you a brief history connected with myself and would be husband. We have been engaged for some years. In August 1862 he enlisted to serve his country for a term of three years. In July 1863 he was taken to Baltimore to a Hospital sick and on or about the first of October 1863 he had recovered and while waiting to be sent to his regiment he had a chance with his fellow Key Stone soldiers to attend the election. Here allow me to state that he did not forget our Curtin.

It was our design to marry while he was at home and under those determinations we very foolishly indulged too freely in matrimonial affairs and at last our union was defeated by my Father. In consequence of him he was forced to return to the army a single man. The result of our indulgences are going to bring upon us both an unlawful family providing you do not take mercy upon us and grant him a leave of absence in order to ratify past events. I am Honored Sir one that circumstances must apologize for the boldness to ask of you this favor under these aggravating circumstances. I hope and pray to God that you will not cast me aside in scorn and dismay. Remember that

I have a Father and mother and a wide circle of friends and if we cannot remedy past events I only pray that Death may come to me at an early period of time.

Allow him time if it is thy will to remove me to Philadelphia, Pa. to reside during his stay in the army. Dear Sir I can only ask and it lies in your power to grant my request. May God soften your heart if need be. May you view this subject as a serious one connected with me.

The Soldier I speak of is A—— L—— G—— private Company —— of the 140th Reg. P. Vol. The said regiment is in the 1st Brigade 1st Division 2nd Army Corps Army of the Potomac.

It may seem strange to you that I have taken this correspondence to you upon myself as it would seem more reasonable for him to perform that duty. In answer to this he says they have orders prohibiting any correspondence with those in authority at the seat of Government for furloughs. I will close leaving all to your decision and remaining your obedient servant,

Miss C—— N——.

(Indorsed)

Hon. Sec. of War

Send him
to her by all
means.

A. Lincoln

April 14, 1864

Furlough granted

File A. G.

The War Department records have been searched at my request in an effort to identify this soldier and verify the incident, but without success.

It has often been alleged that Lincoln's assassination was the result of his refusal to pardon John Yates Beall who was hanged at Governor's Island in New York Harbor, February 24, 1864. He was convicted of conspiracy to blow up bridges and assist Confederate prisoners to escape. It is alleged, though without adequate proof, that his fate determined Booth to take revenge on Lincoln. Beall was a superior man and a brave man, whose

acts, like those of Nathan Hale and André in the Revolution, and the men in Andrews' railway raid in the Civil War, bring deserved applause for their courage, but are clearly liable to the death penalty. There was much to admire in Beall, but Lincoln was unmoved by the appeals in his behalf, and Beall was hanged.

Lincoln's refusal to pardon a slave-trader under sentence of hanging shows how little he was prepared to tolerate that crime:

Whereas it appears that at a term of the Circuit Court of the United States of America for the southern district of New York, held in the month of November, A. D. 1861, Nathaniel Gordon was indicted and convicted for being engaged in the slave-trade, and was by the said court sentenced to be put to death by hanging by the neck on Friday the 7th day of February, A. D. 1862;

And whereas a large number of respectable citizens have earnestly besought me to commute the said sentence of the said Nathaniel Gordon to a term of imprisonment for life, which application I have felt it to be my duty to refuse;

And whereas it has seemed to me probable that the unsuccessful application made for the commutation of his sentence may have prevented the said Nathaniel Gordon from making the necessary preparation for the awful change which awaits him:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, have granted and do hereby grant unto him, the said Nathaniel Gordon, a respite of the above-recited sentence until Friday, the 21st day of February, A. D., 1862, between the hours of twelve o'clock at noon and three o'clock in the afternoon of the said day, when the said sentence shall be executed.

In granting this respite it becomes my painful duty to admonish the prisoner that, relinquishing all expectation of pardon by human authority, he refer himself alone to the mercy of the common God and Father of all men.

Perhaps few acts of Lincoln's administration gave him more satisfaction than his Amnesty Proclamation, issued December 8, 1863, offering complete pardon to all participants in the Rebellion, with certain specified exceptions, on condition of their re-

turn to loyalty. The leading paragraph in this proclamation reads:

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known to all persons who have, directly or by implication, participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereinafter excepted, that a full pardon is hereby granted to them and each of them, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, and in property cases where rights of third parties have intervened, and upon the condition that every such person shall take and subscribe an oath, and shall thenceforward keep and maintain said oath inviolate.

An interesting group of endorsements in Lincoln's handwriting was at one time in possession of the government with regard to certain doubtful cases of Confederates who had applied for permission to take the oath of allegiance under Lincoln's Amnesty Proclamation of December 8, 1863. These letters have now been dispersed, but it was my good fortune to see a considerable number of them after they had gone into private hands (by what process or what right I know not) and before they went to the four winds to purchasers of Lincoln's autograph. From this collection it appeared that in a good many cases in which the officers were in doubt, usually, I judge, on account of the previous record of the applicant, and a suspicion that he would not respect his oath, the question came up to Lincoln. I can not suppose that this would have been done if Lincoln had not himself asked that in these cases the matter should be brought to his attention before final refusal. There is, of course, no way of knowing how many of these men Lincoln finally permitted to remain in prison; all the endorsements in the collection which I inspected were, naturally, of successful applicants, and were preserved as authority of the officers for discharging these prisoners. It was evident, however, that, not always content with a reading of the documents, Lincoln personally interviewed some of these men. In general, the endorsements were brief, merely directing that the within named man be permitted

to take the oath and be discharged, but a few of them bore special endorsements indicating something of the nature of the charge or the reason for the president's decision. One of these I copied, because it displayed at once Lincoln's mercy and humor, and the suggestion of a suspicion on his own part that he was influenced unduly by the applicant's ability to talk:

This man, being so well vouched, and talking so much better than any other I have heard, let him take the oath of Dec. 8, and be discharged.

July 1, 1864,

A. Lincoln.

The significance of this portfolio of letters is in its disclosure that Lincoln, having issued his proclamation offering amnesty to all who had been bearing arms against the government on condition of their taking the oath of loyalty, but stipulating that there must be evidence of good faith on the part of the applicant, did not leave the order to the administration of subordinates, but was deeply concerned for the exceptional men whom the subordinates doubted or deemed unworthy, and that he gave to many such men their freedom, now and then with a twinkle in his eye by reason of his suspicion that he was being imposed upon.

This Amnesty Proclamation was much misused during and after the World War in demands for the pardon of men convicted of treasonable utterance during that war. Lincoln, it was alleged, would have pardoned them long before. But this is by no means certain, nor is the Amnesty Proclamation pertinent as evidence in the case. It was just this kind of offender toward whom Lincoln seemed almost cruelly indifferent.

In no city except New York was there wide-spread and violent opposition to the draft. But there were in many places men in good standing who conducted an active propaganda to oppose enlistments and encourage desertion. Against these men Lincoln entertained an honest and determined indignation. When one of the agitators fell into the hands of the military authority

for an overt act of which the government could take cognizance, Lincoln had no temptation to employ that executive clemency which in the judgment of his military advisers he so often abused. When he was called upon to condemn a private soldier for desertion, Lincoln invariably pitied the deserter, and again and again interfered, to prevent such men from being shot, while on the other hand, he poured out his burning indignation against the supposedly respectable men who conducted their campaigns for the encouragement of desertion and of opposition to the enforcement of the draft. To punish these active agitators he went the full length of his authority, not only as president, but as commander-in-chief of the army. Lincoln could be as stern as he was kind; as inflexible as he was sympathetic. A communication of his on the degree of guilt which he believed to attach to those men who sought to break down what we have learned to call the morale of the army, contains the following paragraph:

Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert? This is none the less injurious when effected by getting a father, or brother, or friend into a public meeting, and there working upon his feelings until he is persuaded to write the soldier boy that he is fighting in a bad cause, for a wicked administration of a contemptible government, too weak to arrest and punish him if he shall desert. I think that in such a case, to silence the agitator, and save the boy, is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy.

On occasion Lincoln could be very stern, and could refuse with stubborn resolution an appeal for pardon when men were guilty of deliberate crime. The following letters illustrate this quality in his nature:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 23, 1863.

E. P. Evans,

West Union, Adams County, Ohio.

Yours to Governor Chase in behalf of J——A. W—— is be-

fore me. Can there be a worse case than to desert, and with letters persuading others to desert? I cannot interpose without a better showing than you make. When did he desert? When did he write the letters?

A. Lincoln.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 21, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX,
New York.

Yesterday I was induced to telegraph the officer in military command at Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, Massachusetts, suspending the execution of C— C—, to be executed to-morrow for desertion. Just now, on reading your order in the case, I telegraphed the same order withdrawing the suspension, and leaving the case entirely with you. The man's friends are pressing me, but I refer them to you, intending to take no further action myself.

A. Lincoln.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, April 25, 1864.

Major-General Meade,
Army of Potomac.

A Mr. Corby brought you a note from me at the foot of a petition, I believe, in the case of D——, to be executed to-day. The record has been examined here, and it shows too strong a case for a pardon or commutation, unless there is something in the poor man's favor outside of the record, which you on the ground may know, but I do not. My note to you only means that if you know of any such thing rendering a suspension of the execution proper, on your own judgment, you are at liberty to suspend it. Otherwise I do not interfere.

A. Lincoln.

Military sentences did not require the approval of the president. The military courts had power to enforce their own sentences. Cases came to the president on the appeal of relatives or friends. They added greatly to the burden of his labor. "To-morrow is butchering day," he would say on Thursday, and he

labored long over the petitions, and it was hard for him to deny appeals.

Lincoln was not easily moved in cases where the man condemned was a man of intelligence and influence. An interesting case was that of Louis A. Welton, a man most justly condemned to death in the summer of 1864, and who was able to secure the support of Senator Morgan, of New York, H. J. Raymond, of the *New York Times*, and Thurlow Weed. The appeal came to Lincoln at a time when he could not afford to lose any of his political support; and there were not in the country three men for whose support just then he cared more than for these three. New York seemed at that time practically certain to vote against Lincoln, and these three men, and Horace Greeley, had mighty influence in New York. Lincoln did not want to lose any strength which he had in so important a state. But not even for the good will of these men would he pardon a man whom he believed to be justly accused unless that would assume the responsibility. He required them to enter their request for the pardon on the very document in which he set forth his reasons for believing that it ought not to be granted. He would not argue the case nor invite them to argue it. If after they had read his review of the case they still would request the pardon, and write the request upon his statement of the case as he understood it, he would issue the pardon. This is a document of remarkable interest.*

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, August 31, 1864.

Mr. Louis A. Welton came from the rebel lines into ours with a written contract to furnish large supplies to the rebels, was arrested with the contract in his possession, and has been sentenced to imprisonment for it. He, and his friends complain of this, on no substantial evidence whatever, but simply because his word, only given after his arrest, that he only took the contract

*So far as I am aware this has never been published. I am permitted to use it by Mr. Oliver R. Barrett, in whose collection it is.

as a means of escaping from the rebel lines, was not accepted as a full defense—He perceives that if this had been true he would have destroyed the contract so soon as it had served his purpose in getting him across the lines; but not having done this and being caught with the paper on him, he tells this other absurd story that he kept the paper in the belief that our government would join him in taking the profit of fulfilling the contract. This is my understanding of the case; and I can not conceive of a case of a man found in possession of a contract to furnish rebel supplies, who can not escape, if this be held a sufficient—ground of escape—It is simply for the accused to escape by telling a very absurd and improbable story. Now, if Senator Morgan, and Mr. Weed, and Mr. Raymond, will not argue with me that I *ought* to discharge this man, but will, in writing on this sheet, simply request me to do it, I will do it solely in deference to their wishes.

The following endorsements appear on this letter :

.....

We respectfully request the President to pardon the within named Louis A. Welton, now at Fort Delaware.

Thurlow Weed

.....

I have read Mr. Welton's statement and if it is true, (and I know no reason for distrusting it,) his pardon would be an act of *justice*. I concur in Mr. Weed's request.

H. J. Raymond.

While Lincoln could be and often was very stubborn in dealing with trying situations, he sometimes displayed great shrewdness in evading a decision where he preferred not to assume responsibility which did not fairly belong to him. One of his assistant secretaries, William O. Stoddard, gives in detail the narrative of an effort that was made on behalf of a guerrilla for whose pardon Lincoln received a long petition followed by the personal appeal of an influential delegation. Lincoln knew the man was guilty, for he had sent for the papers in the case and had satisfied himself not only that the man deserved to die, but that the

region where the crime had been committed was one which needed the lesson. The sentence stood until the morning of the execution. Then a large and eminent delegation came to the White House and brought to bear upon the president a very considerable pressure. Lincoln, however, would take no action without reviewing again the papers in the case. He instructed Stoddard to look for the papers. Stoddard did so, and could not find them. Lincoln suggested to the delegation to go to the War Department. They went, but returned with the information that the papers were not at the War Department, they had been sent to the White House at the president's own request and had not been returned. Further search failed to disclose the documents, and the delegation went away sorrowful. Hardly had they left the White House when a telegram was handed to the president. Lincoln thus remarked:

"What did you say? A telegram? You don't tell me! Has that man been actually hung? It's a pity about his papers! It seems to me—well, yes, I remember now. I know where—well, if I did; I guess I wouldn't. Not now. But if they are ever called for again, and they won't be, they ought to be where they can be found. Certainly, certainly. But it is just as well that one murderer escaped being pardoned by Abraham Lincoln. Narrow escape, too. The merest piece of luck in all the world."

CHAPTER XIX

RADICALS AND COPPERHEADS

LIKE all men conservative by nature but committed by conviction to a polity of progress, Abraham Lincoln won severe criticism from two widely divergent groups. Politics proverbially makes strange bed-fellows. The administration of Lincoln produced a working coalition between some of the ultra anti-slavery men in the North and others who represented diametrically opposite political convictions.

Mention has already been made of the political reaction of 1862, in which the northern states quite generally receded from their whole-hearted allegiance to Lincoln, and sent to Congress a largely increased Democratic minority. Note has also been taken of the partial recovery, not in congressional representation, but in popular confidence in the administration, as shown in the results of the elections of those few states that chose governors in 1863. This increase in confidence did not mean that the people were less weary of the war, or that the men in the North who opposed the war were less bitter in their opposition.

In various northern states, and especially in southern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, were organized societies known as the "Knights of the Golden Circle," "Sons of Liberty," "The Order of the Star," and the "Order of American Knights." These secret bodies enrolled large numbers of men, some of whom were thoroughly disloyal to the Union, and others of whom professed to be loyal to the government, but opposed to what they counted the tyranny or the radical abolition policy of Abraham Lincoln.

Lincoln was not greatly disturbed by the so-called Copper-

head movement. He treated it, according to his secretaries, Nicolay and Hay, with "good-humored contempt." "Nothing can make me believe," he said, "that one hundred thousand Indiana Democrats are disloyal."

In all probability he was right. Yet there were enough disloyal Indiana Democrats to make the Knights of the Golden Circle a formidable organization. Governor Morton, of Indiana, did not share Lincoln's complacent view, and Governor Richard Yates, of Illinois, was almost equally disturbed.

These Copperhead organizations had for their purpose the discouragement of enlistment and the encouragement of desertions, the impeding in every practicable way of measures in the North for the putting down of the rebellion, and in general the giving of aid and comfort to the Confederate Army. Plans were made for the capture of the prisons in the North where Confederate soldiers were confined, for the destruction of arsenals and armories, and for other bold and terrible deeds. These larger and more heroic exploits did not get beyond threat and rumor; but there was secret and active propaganda, hostile to the government, that manifested itself in literally thousands of communities, and the personal abuse which was heaped upon Abraham Lincoln seems at this day all but incredible.

In a number of cities an opposing secret organization called the Union League was established. This society had its permanent monument in some northern cities in Union League Clubs.

A part of this hostility to Lincoln was not without apparent cause. Those reckon without knowledge of his character who assume that Lincoln was only a mild and irresolute man. He was by nature mild, and he was so cautious as to appear, and at times to have been, irresolute. But he was also a man of inflexible will. When he had definitely committed himself to a course, he could not only be consistently loyal to it, but very stubbornly earnest in his refusal to swerve.

Very early in the war Lincoln saw that some drastic measures

would be necessary. Foes of the Union were everywhere, and especially in Washington. The District of Columbia lay partly in Virginia, which had seceded, and the rest in Maryland, whose legislature in 1861 protested against the war as unconstitutional and unjust, and expressed a desire for the immediate recognition of the Confederate states. In the opening weeks of the Civil War, Washington was virtually in a state of siege. Lincoln knew that neither in Washington nor anywhere else in the North was there assurance of safety from the insidious work of those who were seeking the overthrow of the Union.

Further, Lincoln knew that if he waited until guilty men committed overt acts of treason before causing them to be arrested, the arrest would in many cases be impossible or would come too late to prevent the success of dangerous plots. He placed men in charge of Federal prisons who were capable of resisting very great pressure. Some of these wardens were charged to keep themselves inside the prison walls where they would be free from the possibility of reach by the civil courts. He appointed Ward Hill Lamson commissioner of the District of Columbia, and kept him in that position in spite of most emphatic demands for his removal. He knew that Lamson was a man of courage, and not overnice in his methods when drastic policies needed to be enforced.

In order the more fully to protect this policy, Lincoln suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*. The Old Capitol prison in Washington was kept moderately full of people against some of whom no formal charges were ever brought. These people and their friends, many of them very respectable people, made vociferous protest, and the president in general maintained a sphinx-like silence. He knew that the winning of the war made it necessary that some harsh things should be done.

Lincoln was himself so firm an advocate of adherence to the law and of loyalty to the Constitution as to be an object of perplexity and wonder to some even of his friends who observed him giving his adherence to policies that seemed so arbitrary and

of such questionable legality. They reminded Lincoln how in times of peace he had said things strangely inconsistent with his present methods. Lincoln replied that when a man was sick he sometimes needed medicine, which would be very harmful to a well man, and that some things were necessary in times of war which a country could not tolerate in times of peace.

Lincoln's suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* brought upon him not only the severe criticism of Congress and the press, but the official disapproval of the Supreme Court. Roger B. Taney still sat as chief justice of that dignified body. He was so old and in such frail health that Lincoln feared that he would die between the time of the election of 1860 and the inauguration in 1861. But Justice Taney lived so long that Lincoln grew to cherish unfeigned alarm concerning the fate of some of his war policies when they came up, as they were certain to come, for review before the Supreme Court at the end of the Civil War. He did not have to wait until the end of the war for his break with Mr. Justice Taney. On May 25, 1861, John Merryman, a citizen of Baltimore, was arrested charged with treason, and was committed to the custody of General George Cadwalader, then commanding Fort Henry. Chief Justice Taney, then resident in Baltimore in the house of his son-in-law, Mr. Campbell, issued, in chambers, a writ of *habeas corpus* calling upon General Cadwalader to produce the body of John Merryman before Justice Taney in the room of the circuit court of Baltimore.

It would appear from this distance that Justice Taney went somewhat widely out of his way to discover trouble for himself. The Supreme Court was not sitting, and the justice was not in the capital. But Judge Taney believed that the executive and military powers were overriding the functions of the legislative and judiciary powers of the government. So he issued the writ of *habeas corpus* directing the United States Marshal for the District of Maryland to produce in court the body of the imprisoned man.

The writ was returned served, and the officer to whom it was directed refused to produce the prisoner, giving as his reason that he was duly authorized by the president of the United States to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* for the public safety. Justice Taney, receiving this report, excused the officer from further service in the matter, saying that while he had legal authority to call to his assistance an adequate *posse* to enforce the writ, it was clearly impossible for him to organize a posse of sufficient strength to overcome the resistance of the military authority of the United States. A day or two afterward the chief justice in a written opinion said:

As the case comes before me, therefore, I understand that the President not only claims the right to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* at his discretion, but to delegate that discretionary power to a military officer, and to leave it to him to determine whether he will or will not obey judicial process that may be served upon him. No official notice has been given to the courts of justice, or to the public, by a proclamation or otherwise, that the President claimed this power, and had exercised it in the manner stated in the return. And I certainly listened to it with some surprise, for I had supposed it to be one of those points of constitutional law upon which there was no difference of opinion, and that it was admitted on all hands that the privilege of the writ could not be suspended except by Act of Congress.*

Lincoln made no attempt to argue this case with the chief justice of the United States. He knew that he was facing a desperate situation, and that he could not count upon the cooperation of the Supreme Court. Whether the plea of military necessity justified the position of Lincoln in this and other matters, need not here and now be discussed. Lincoln accepted what he believed to be the necessity of saving the Union, and he did not disguise the fact that the desperate emergency called for desperate remedies.

**Memoir of Roger Brooke Taney, LL.D.*, by Samuel Tyler, LL.D., pp. 422-423.

Reference has already been made to the case of Clement G. Vallandigham. He had been a member of Congress since 1856, and was the rising leader of the Copperhead wing of the Democratic Party in 1863. General Burnside was in command of the Department of the Ohio. Vallandigham delivered a speech, about May 1, 1863, containing utterances alleged to have been treasonable. The address denounced the war as "wicked, cruel and unnecessary." He declared that war was being waged, not for the preservation of the Union, but "for the purpose of crushing out liberty and erecting a despotism." It stated that if the administration had so wished "the war could have been honorably terminated months ago." It declared that "war was for the freedom of the blacks and enslavement of the whites." General Burnside, himself a Democrat, a friend and admirer of McClellan, caused Vallandigham to be arrested. The evidence was conclusive, and Vallandigham was sentenced to be confined in Fort Warren in Boston Harbor. A writ of *habeas corpus* was issued, but its execution was denied. Bitter criticism fell upon the administration for this arrest. Lincoln set forth his view in the following statement:

Of how little value the constitutional provisions I have quoted will be rendered, if arrests shall never be made until defined crimes shall have been committed, may be illustrated by a few notable examples. General John C. Breckinridge, General Robert E. Lee, General Joseph E. Johnston, General John B. Magruder, General William B. Preston, General Simon B. Buckner, and Commodore Franklin Buchanan, now occupying the very highest places in the rebel war service, were all within the power of the government since the rebellion began, and were nearly as well-known to be traitors then as now. Unquestionably if we had seized and held them, the insurgent cause would be much weaker. But no one of them had then committed any crime defined in the law. Every one of them, if arrested, would have been discharged on *habeas corpus* were the writ allowed to operate. In view of these and similar cases, I think the time not unlikely to come, when I shall be blamed for having made too

few arrests rather than too many. . . . Long experience has shown that armies cannot be maintained unless desertion shall be punished by the severe penalty of death. The case requires, and the law and the Constitution sanctions, this punishment. Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier-boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert?

But though Lincoln defended the action of the government in the arrest of Vallandigham, he appears to have regretted that Burnside had taken this step. He refused to accept the resignation of Burnside growing out of the protest and criticism, saying that though all the Cabinet regretted the necessity of the arrest, some doubting the wisdom of it, all were in favor of sustaining Burnside in the matter.

Lincoln devised a method of relief which Burnside strongly opposed. Vallandigham was secretly conveyed to the Confederate lines under a flag of truce, and handed over to a Confederate picket.

This was a shrewd move on the part of Lincoln. The Confederate Government could hardly afford to accept Vallandigham as a Confederate and Vallandigham could not afford to be treated as one. On the other hand, the Confederate Government was unfeignedly grateful to him, though it did not know what to do with him. He was a white elephant on the hands of those who would gladly have regarded him as a friend. He protested that he was not a Confederate, but a loyal citizen of the United States and a prisoner of war of the Confederate Government. Certainly his whole value to the Confederacy was lost by his being placed within the Confederate lines. He could not be returned to the United States, for the United States would not take him. He was a man without a country, and his case led Edward Everett Hale to write his notable short story bearing that title.

The Confederate secretary of state protested against the sending of Vallandigham to the Confederate lines as an abuse of the flag of truce. He then issued orders that this "alien enemy"

who was a "victim of unjust and arbitrary power," should be taken to the coast and given opportunity to make his way to some foreign country:

It is not the desire or purpose of this government to treat this victim of unjust and arbitrary power with other than lenity and consideration, but as an alien enemy he cannot be received to friendly hospitality or allowed a continued refuge in freedom in our midst. This is due alike to our safety and to him in his acknowledged position as an enemy. You have therefore been charged with the duty, not inappropriate to the commission you hold in relation to prisoners, etc., of meeting him in Lynchburg, and there assuming direction and control of his future movements. He must be regarded by you as under arrest, permitted, unless in your discretion you deem it necessary to revoke the privilege, to be at large on his parole not to attempt to escape nor hereafter to reveal to the prejudice of the Confederate States anything he may see or learn while therein. You will see that he is not molested or assailed or unduly intruded upon, and extend to him the attentions and kind treatment consistent with his relations as an alien enemy. After a reasonable delay with him at Lynchburg, to allow rest and recreation from the fatigues of his recent exposure and travel, you will proceed with him to Wilmington, N. C., and there deliver him to the charge of Major-General Whiting, commanding in that district, by whom he will be allowed at an early convenient opportunity to take shipping for any neutral port he may prefer, whether in Europe, the Islands, or on this Continent. More full instructions on this point will be given to General Whiting, and your duty will be discharged when you shall have conducted Mr. Vallandigham to Wilmington and placed him at the disposition of that commander.

On June 11, 1863, the Democratic Convention of Ohio nominated Vallandigham as governor of that state. He was defeated by a majority of a hundred thousand. Lincoln had accomplished what he sought, and had succeeded in discrediting without persecution the most violent of the outspoken enemies of the administration.

A few months later Vallandigham returned to the United States, and dared the president to arrest him. He made violent speeches, but the president ignored him. Vallandigham could thenceforth do the administration less damage out of jail than in.

For though Lincoln did not permit this violent Copperhead to be rearrested, he strictly maintained the righteousness of the arrest which had actually been made. He said in a letter to the Democratic State Convention of Ohio:

He who dissuades one man from volunteering, or induces one soldier to desert, weakens the Union cause as much as he who kills a Union soldier in battle. Yet this dissuasion or inducement may be so conducted as to be no defined crime of which any civil court would take cognizance.

Mr. Vallandigham avows his hostility to the war on the part of the Union; and his arrest was made because he was laboring, with some effect, to prevent the raising of troops, to encourage desertions from the army, and to leave the rebellion without an adequate military force to suppress it. He was not arrested because he was damaging the political prospects of the administration or the personal interests of the commanding general, but because he was damaging the army, upon the existence and vigor of which the life of the nation depends. He was warring upon the military, and this gave the military constitutional jurisdiction to lay hands upon him. If Mr. Vallandigham was not damaging the military power of the country, then his arrest was made on mistake of fact, which I would be glad to correct on reasonably satisfactory evidence.

If I be wrong on this question of constitutional power, my error lies in believing that certain proceedings are constitutional when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety requires them, which would not be constitutional when, in absence of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does not require them; in other words, that the Constitution is not in its application in all respects the same in cases of rebellion or invasion involving the public safety, as it is in times of profound peace and public security. The Constitution itself makes the distinction, and I can no more be persuaded that the government can constitutionally take no strong measures in time of rebellion, because it can be

shown that the same could not be lawfully taken in time of peace, than I can be persuaded that a particular drug is not good medicine for a sick man because it can be shown to not be good food for a well one. Nor am I able to appreciate the danger apprehended by the meeting, that the American people will by means of military arrests during the rebellion lose the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and the press, the law of evidence, trial by jury, and *habeus corpus* throughout the indefinite peaceful future which I trust lies before them, any more than I am able to believe that a man could contract so strong an appetite for emetics during temporary illness as to persist in feeding upon them during the remainder of his healthful life.

Already the political pot was brewing, and Lincoln was to hear of this and other cases in the campaign of 1864. Something of what was said to his discredit in that campaign we shall read in the next chapter. For the present we turn to opposition of a wholly different type which was rising against Lincoln, and which caused him almost as much embarrassment as the hostility of the Copperheads.

The opposition of the radicals to Mr. Lincoln was on the whole a higher grade than that of the Copperheads. It came from earnest and in good part from conscientious men, who were impatient with the president because he had not seemed to show more initiative and firmness in his advocacy of anti-slavery measures. He had indeed, issued the Proclamation of Emancipation, and was proposing that it be followed by a Constitutional Amendment prohibiting slavery throughout the United States; but he had done this avowedly as a war measure. He had declared that his paramount object was to save the Union, and that if he could have done this without freeing the slaves, he would have done so.

It is not surprising that Lincoln was severely criticized by the extreme abolitionists. Even if there had been no war, they would have felt justified in expecting from the first Republican president a more radical attitude in disapproval of slavery

than they discovered in the early portion of Lincoln's administration; but when slavery brought forth its fruit in rebellion, and that which had been the curse of the Union became its destruction, they thought they had a right to expect that Lincoln would proceed with far more vigor than he did to carry out to its legitimate conclusion his and their hostility to slavery. Lincoln put a Democrat at the head of the army, and left John C. Frémont in comparative obscurity. Lincoln dismissed Cameron from his Cabinet, largely as was supposed because Cameron was more interested in abolition than Lincoln was. Lincoln nullified the orders of Hunter and of Frémont for the abolition of slavery in their respective military districts. The Emancipation Proclamation covered only that portion of the country that was in rebellion. Even after the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln permitted the officers of the army to return fugitive slaves to loyal citizens in the border states that had not seceded. It is little wonder that this displeased the rabid abolitionists. There was in Congress a group of men increasingly out of sympathy with Lincoln in these matters. Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan, Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, and Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois, were of this number. The unquestioned leader of the House of Representatives was the uncompromising Thaddeus Stevens. Had Lincoln lived he surely would have had trouble with Stevens. Thomas Dixon made no attempt to disguise him in the character which he calls "Stoneman" in his novel *The Crisis* and his photoplay *The Birth of a Nation*. But this characterization can not be acknowledged to be a just one.

The outstanding leaders, however, in the opposition to Lincoln in the campaign that was soon to occur, were a member of his own Cabinet and two generals in the Union Army, one of whom Lincoln had elevated to the foremost place of power, and the other of whom had been the first standard bearer of the Lincoln party as a candidate for the presidency.

CHAPTER XX

THE ELECTION OF 1864

By THE middle of Lincoln's first term, Republican leaders had quite generally come to an agreement that some other candidate would need to be nominated if that party were to win the election of 1864. On December 15, 1863, the *New York Herald* published an editorial headed "Grant as the people's candidate." To his lasting honor, General Grant turned a deaf ear to all suggestions that he should leave the leadership of the army and enter the field of politics against President Lincoln. Frémont, however, had no such scruples, and Chase conducted his own campaign from his chair in the president's Cabinet. Lincoln expressed in the hearing of John Hay his opinion of the various men who were opposing him. Chase's performance, he said, was in bad taste, but he had determined to pay no attention to it. He was a good secretary, and if he could be elected president he hoped the country would never have a worse one.

When viewed from this distance the operations of Secretary Chase on his own behalf while a member of Lincoln's Cabinet, appear so reprehensible we can hardly wonder that some authorities have regarded him as an absolute traitor to his chief. This view of the case is too severe. Chase never came to realize that the president was a greater man than himself. He was burdened with a hopeless inability to appreciate Mr. Lincoln's true greatness. He had no such limitation concerning his own ability. He had been an outstanding leader in the anti-slavery cause when Mr. Lincoln was an unknown man. He regarded Lincoln's first election as a political accident, and he intended to

save the country from the misfortune of Lincoln's reelection, which, however, he did not regard as a possibility. He was entirely sincere in believing himself a much abler man than Lincoln. His most serious lack would seem to have been a sense of humor.

Chase put the conduct of his campaign into the hands of Senator Pomeroy, of Kansas. He could hardly have made a worse choice. Kansas itself was divided between its two senators, Pomeroy and Lane. Pomeroy issued a circular, and scattered it broadcast among the enemies of the administration. Many copies of it fell into the hands of Lincoln's friends who sent them to the White House with the expectation that Lincoln would immediately demand the resignation of Chase. Chase discovered the blunder involved in it, and wrote to Lincoln a letter denying all knowledge of it, and Lincoln acknowledged the letter in a courteous response in which he stated that copies of the circular had been sent him, but he had not read it and did not expect to do so.

The Pomeroy circular is of value at this date as showing how bitter, within Lincoln's own party, was the opposition to him. It said:

The movements recently made throughout the country to secure the renomination of President Lincoln render necessary counter-action on the part of those unconditional friends of the Union who differ from the policy of the Administration.

So long as no efforts were made to forestall the political action of the people, it was both wise and patriotic for all true friends of the Government to devote their influence to the suppression of the rebellion; but when it becomes evident that party and the machinery of official influence are being used to secure the perpetuation of the present Administration, those who conscientiously believe that the interests of the country and of freedom demand a change in favor of vigor and purity and nationality, have no choice but to appeal at once to the people before it is too late to secure a fair discussion of principles.

Those in behalf of whom this appeal is made have thought-

fully surveyed the political field, and have arrived at the following conclusion: *First*, that even were the reelection of Mr. Lincoln desirable, it is practically impossible against the Union of influences which will oppose him. *Second*, that should he be reelected, his manifest tendency towards compromises and temporary expedients of policy will become stronger during a second term than it has been in the first, and the cause of human liberty, and the dignity of the nation, suffer proportionately, while the war may continue to languish during his whole Administration, till the public debt shall become a burden too great to be borne. *Third*, that the patronage of the Government through the necessities of the war has been so rapidly increased, and to such an enormous extent, and so loosely placed, as to render the application of the one-term principle absolutely essential to the certain safety of our republican institutions. *Fourth*, that we find united in Hon. Salmon P. Chase more of the qualities needed in a President during the next four years than are combined in any other available candidate. His record is clear and unimpeachable, showing him to be a statesman of rare ability and an administrator of the highest order, while his private character furnishes the surest available guarantee of economy and purity in the management of public affairs. *Fifth*, that the discussion of the Presidential question, already commenced by the friends of Mr. Lincoln, has developed a popularity and strength in Mr. Chase unexpected even to his warmest admirers; and while we are aware that its strength is at present unorganized, and in no condition to manifest its real magnitude, we are satisfied that it only needs a systematic and faithful effort to develop it to an extent sufficient to overcome all opposing obstacles. For these reasons the friends of Mr. Chase have determined on measures which shall present his claims fairly and at once to the country. A central organization has been effected, which already has its connections in all the States, and the object of which is to enable his friends everywhere most effectually to promote his elevation to the Presidency. We wish the hearty cooperation of all those who are in favor of the speedy restoration of the Union on the basis of universal freedom, and who desire an administration of the Government during the first period of its new life which shall to the fullest extent develop the capacity of free institutions, enlarge the resources of the country, diminish the burdens of taxation, ele-

vate the standard of public and private morality, vindicate the honor of the Republic before the world, and in all things make our American nationality the fairest example for imitation which human progress has ever achieved. If these objects meet your approval, you can render efficient aid by exerting yourself at once to organize your section of the country, and by corresponding with the chairman of the National Executive Committee for the purpose either of receiving or imparting information.

Lincoln had no high opinion either of the loyalty or ability of Frémont. He had stumped Illinois for Frémont in 1856, but had seen that general display such an erratic temper in the early years of the war that he came greatly to distrust him. John Hay on May 21, 1864, wrote an entry in his diary that began with a criticism of Burnside, and ended with a severer criticism of Frémont:

Burnside is turning out much as I thought he would, perfectly useless and incapable for campaigning. He quarrels with Grant and Stanton, and makes a nuisance of himself. I said to the President to-day that I thought Burnside was the only man in the army to whom power was an injury. McClellan was too timid and vacillating to assert; Grant was too sound and cool-headed and unselfish; Frémont would be dangerous if he had more ability and energy.

Lincoln seemed to Hay to assent to all the foregoing, and said that Frémont was like Jim Jell's little brother. Jim used to say that his brother was the biggest scoundrel that ever lived, but in the infinite mercy of Providence, he was also the biggest fool.

General Frémont, however, was not easily disposed of. There was a factional fight in Missouri urging his nomination. A mass convention was held in Cleveland on May thirty-first. It denounced Mr. Lincoln for his "imbecile and vacillating policy." Wendell Phillips and other bitter opponents of slavery joined in this movement, though William Lloyd Garrison and Oliver Johnson stood loyally by Lincoln, and Owen Lovejoy remained throughout one of his warm supporters.

Lincoln never regarded the candidacy of Frémont with any great concern. Some one told him that Frémont supporters had assembled at Cleveland to place him in nomination, and that there were about four hundred of them. Lincoln's knowledge of the Bible stood him in good stead and he turned to the Bible, which his secretaries say "commonly lay on his desk," and read the verse I Samuel 22:2:

And every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him; and he became a captain over them; and there were with him about four hundred men.

For a time it appeared that the Fremont campaign might give Lincoln a considerable degree of trouble, but it soon became evident that his cause was hopeless. John G. Whittier and other prominent abolitionists were among those who advised Frémont to withdraw, which in due time he did.

A large section of the northern press was bitterly hostile to the president. On a Wednesday toward the end of May, 1864, the *New York World*, which was one of the president's severest critics, published an alleged proclamation signed by the president, appointing a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer for the success of the Union, and calling for a draft of four hundred thousand men. The effect of such a proclamation could only be to chill to the very heart the hopes of those who had been looking for a speedy ending of the war. The document was soon discovered to have been a forgery; most of the New York editors so pronounced it when it first came in and did not print it. But the *World*, whose editor was Manton Marble, and the *Journal of Commerce*, whose editor was William C. Prime, both published it. The editions containing this proclamation were promptly recalled, and other editions were sent out acknowledging that these papers had been deceived. Marble and Prime were arrested and their papers were suspended for a few days. The editors soon were able to show that they had been imposed

on, and were permitted to resume publication, not, however, with any considerable degree of favor on the part of the authorities in Washington.

The truth was soon discovered. The author of the forgery was Joseph Howard, Jr., who had been city editor of the *Times*, and later Washington correspondent of the *Tribune*. He was a member of Plymouth Church and had reported many of the sermons of Henry Ward Beecher. He knew thoroughly the habits and customs of the newspaper offices in New York. He had suffered financial reverses, and he undertook this despicable plot in the assurance that it would cause a panic on Wall Street, from which there would be prompt recovery of prices when the truth was known. His relations with New York brokers were such that he hoped to make a fortune in a few hours. Fortunately for the country his plot did not succeed.

The Republican Convention of 1864 discarded its party name and called itself the Union Convention. It was held in Baltimore on June eighth. It met at the time when Grant was forcing Lee steadily back upon Richmond. There was only one candidate who under all the circumstances as they then were could possibly be nominated at that convention. The popular desire, based upon increasing military success, was overwhelmingly for Lincoln. It was a noisy and discordant convention, but one whose verdict was assured in advance. Abraham Lincoln was renominated.

The Democratic Party held its convention in Chicago, August twenty-ninth. It nominated as candidate for president, General George B. McClellan, and for vice-president, George H. Pendleton, of Ohio. The platform declared the war a failure. The Democratic Party has never since had any great pride in that declaration. McClellan himself, in his letter of acceptance, took pains to repudiate that plank. It was inevitable, however, that if he had been elected he would have been compelled by his party to seek an early peace. The fortunes of the Union and of freedom were bound up with the reelection of Lincoln.

It would be a disagreeable and profitless task to quote at any great length the literature of this period issued in opposition to Abraham Lincoln. It varied in quality and in tone. There was what might be called the "high-brow" literature of the period, issued by the Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge, an organization which dined stately at Delmonico's in New York City, and whose president was none other than Samuel F. B. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph. The pamphlets issued by this organization are in good literary form and made their appeal to the intellectual people of New York City and of the country. Governor Horatio Seymour, who was elected in the fall of 1862 and who was at best a passive resistant of the draft and other war measures, and who was believed to have presidential aspirations in 1864, was only one among the notable men in positions of large influence in a state of undisguised hostility to Abraham Lincoln and all his works.

At the other extreme of those opposed to Lincoln were the authors and publishers of ribald and libelous abuse, which sounds strange to those who have learned to hold in honor the name of Abraham Lincoln.

Lest we forget those days in which Lincoln numbered among his foes those who should have been of his own household, let us recall a few paragraphs from one of the most popular of the tracts of this time. A patriotic preacher, either in prayer or in discourse, had uttered the fervent ejaculation "God bless Abraham Lincoln!" To not a few Copperheads this seemed an utterly blasphemous prayer. It called forth in answer a pamphlet whose author had the grace to conceal his name, and whose title was that of the prayer "God bless Abraham Lincoln."

This pamphlet recited at considerable length and in detail the reasons why Abraham Lincoln deserved a very different fate at the hand even of the most merciful God. It ended with this perfervid peroration:

Let the merchants, when their ships lie rotting at the wharves,

and the bankers when the banks are closed and broken . . . cry . . . "God bless Abraham Lincoln."

When the manufacturers find the loom idle and the shuttle suspended in the sley and the male operators slain or disabled and their wives and children houseless and starving—then let them, as in duty bound, cry—"God bless Abraham Lincoln."

When the farmers find their fields laid waste, dwellings and barns demolished, and all around desolation; no green spot to refresh the sunken eyes, no flocks or herds in the distance lowing, rendering hill and dale joyous—let them not despair, but with the eyes of faith, through the Higher Law, look to the glorious future, when their farms will be the heritage of the rejuvenated Ethiopians . . . and with pious resignation, repeat, "God bless Abraham Lincoln."

Let the masters of the Church Militant from Rev. Henry Ward Beecher and the sanctified and *Veracious* Dr. Tyng of New York, to the meek and gentle Parson Brownlow and the Reverend and Peaceful Jim Cartey of Nashville—let them, I repeat, when they have preached the Gospel—driving Loyal Hearers out of the churches, and the pews are empty, save when filled as hospitals with the mutilated, wounded and breakdown soldiers of this Righteous War; and when their eyes behold nothing but wounds, bruises and putrefying sores, which they helped to produce, oh: then let them lift their *spotless hands* to the Lamb upon the throne, and exclaim, "God bless Abraham Lincoln."

Let Harriet Beecher Stowe bring out the latest of her Uncle Toms, drawn to be put upon the stage with all the effect artistic skill can produce, in the center foreground should appear quivering limbs, once of the gentlest, rarest mold, now stained and defiled with foulest pollution; showing also snow-white bosoms, that ever throbbed in angelic purity to woman's soft emotions, now blood-stained in the last heavings of unpitied, untold outrage, woe and wrong! Along the right and left side wings should appear groups of fair and gentle creatures, with hair disheveled, and eyes distended in hopeless despair, while the black ourang-outangs are dragging them down to gratify their brutal instincts When the curtain rises, let Harriet Beecher Stowe enter with lofty brow to receive the plaudits gathered upon Humanity's extended fold, and when advanced to the footlights, let her give with dramatic effect, "God bless Abraham Lincoln."

Finally, let Hell open its jaws, and, jubilant of the ranks of Abolitionism, belch forth flames and lightning, and, in derision of the Most High, *laugh out*—in thunders that will shake the earth and startle the Ear of Heaven—"God bless Abraham Lincoln!"

At the time of the nomination of Lincoln in the early part of June in 1864, there appeared not only no doubt of his being named upon the first ballot, but now of his triumphant reelection. Lincoln appeared to have unified his party and practically to have unified the sentiment of all the loyal states. Even his Cabinet acknowledged his supreme authority and responded heartily to his leadership. When the Baltimore Convention adjourned it had seemed a needless formality to telegraph the president concerning its result. Within a month, however, the party that nominated Lincoln was divided, and by the middle of the summer it appeared very doubtful whether Lincoln could be re-elected. Early in his administration Lincoln had offended Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, a cousin of his long-time friend, Judge David Davis, of Illinois. The rock the supporters of his administration split was the status of the states in rebellion. Were they in the Union or out of it? Lincoln believed that the theory on which the Federal Government was fighting the rebellion was that no state could take itself out of the Union; and that the seceded states were to be recognized just as rapidly as they could organize governments loyal to the government of the United States. This theory, however, did not please the extreme leaders of the Republican Party. They desired, in the language of Andrew Johnson, "to make treason odious." As Congress was about to adjourn, at noon on July 4, 1864, a bill was passed which had been drawn by Mr. Davis, containing in its preamble the declaration that the seceded states were not in the Union, and calling for reconstruction on a basis which included the prohibition of slavery in the reconstructed states. Lincoln declined to sign this bill, and it failed to become a law by virtue of the pocket veto. Instead Lincoln issued on July

eighth a proclamation in which he stated his reasons for not approving the bill. He said:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known that while I am—as I was in December last, when by proclamation I propounded a plan of restoration—unprepared by a formal approval of this bill to be inflexibly committed to any single plan of restoration, and while I am also unprepared to declare that the free State constitutions and governments, already adopted and installed in Arkansas and Louisiana, shall be set aside and held for naught, thereby repelling and discouraging the loyal citizens who have set up the same as to further effort, or to declare a constitutional competency in Congress to abolish slavery in the States, but am at the same time sincerely hoping and expecting that a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery throughout the nation may be adopted, nevertheless, I am fully satisfied with the system for restoration contained in the bill as one very proper for the loyal people of any State choosing to adopt it; and that I am, and at all times shall be, prepared to give the executive aid and assistance to any such people, so soon as military resistance to the United States shall have been suppressed in any such State, and the people thereof shall have sufficiently returned to their obedience to the Constitution and the laws of the United States, in which cases military governors will be appointed, with directions to proceed according to the bill.

Not a few of the most vigorous members of the Republican Party were offended by this action. On August fifth, Senator Benjamin F. Wade* and Honorable Henry Winter Davis joined in a signed attack upon the president for what they called “a studied outrage on the legislative authority of the people.” This, the most bitter attack made upon the president by members of his own party during his administration, contained the following paragraph:

*There is not space in a work such as this to do justice, and it has yet to be done, to Zachariah Chandler and Benjamin F. Wade. I can but feel that some recent biographies of Lincoln, in setting forth the opposition of these senators to Lincoln in some of his measures that appeared to them to invade the prerogatives of Congress, have done them injustice. Two inci-

Such are the fruits of this rash and fatal act of the President—a blow at the friends of his Administration, at the rights of humanity, and at the principles of republican government. The President has greatly presumed on the forbearance which the supporters of his Administration have so long practiced, in view of the arduous conflict in which we are engaged, and the reckless ferocity of our political opponents. But he must understand that our support is of a cause and not of a man; that the authority of Congress is paramount and must be respected; that the whole body of the Union men of Congress will not submit to be impeached by him of rash and unconstitutional legislation; and if he wishes our support he must confine himself to his executive duties—to obey and to execute, not make the laws—to suppress by arms armed rebellion, and leave political reorganization to Congress. If the supporters of the Government fail to insist on this they become responsible for the usurpations which they fail to rebuke, and are justly liable to the indignation of the people whose rights and security, committed to their keeping, they sacrifice. Let them consider the remedy of these usurpations, and, having found it, fearlessly execute it.

Wendell Phillips also strongly opposed President Lincoln's reelection, and made several warm speeches against Lincoln and his policy.

When asked if he had read the Wade-Davis Manifesto or any of Phillips' speeches, the president replied:

dents may be related concerning Wade. When he was a judge in Ohio, a negro was introduced as a witness, and was objected to by opposing counsel. There was a statute that forbade such testimony, but in the courts of Northern Ohio it was a dead letter and there were abundant precedents for its non-observance. One lawyer argued the statute which was unmistakable, and the other argued the precedents. "Let the witness be sworn," said Wade. "No evidence has been introduced to show that this witness is a negro."

The other I give from memory as I heard it from a man who was present at a Fourth of July celebration at Jefferson, Ohio, while the war was in progress. Wade was describing his last interview with Jefferson Davis, in which Davis proposed that the southern states should be permitted to secede peacefully, taking with them the forts, custom-houses, and other pieces of property of the Federal Government located within them. Said Wade:

"When that old arch-traitor made that proposal to me, what answer do you think I made to him? I said to him, 'I'll see you in hell first! With the gate locked! And the key thrown away! And a strong northeast wind blowing cinders into your damned old eyes!'"

Wade never used language quite as strong as this regarding Lincoln, but it was not very gentle.

"I have not seen them, nor do I care to see them. I have seen enough to satisfy me that I am a failure, not only in the opinion of the people in rebellion, but of many distinguished politicians of my own party. But time will show whether I am right or they are right, and I am content to abide its decision. I have enough to look after without giving much of my time to the consideration of the subject of who shall be my successor in office. The position is not an easy one; and the occupant, whoever he may be, for the next four years, will have little leisure to pluck a thorn or plant a rose in his own pathway."

It was urged that this opposition must be embarrassing to his administration, as well as damaging to the party. He replied: "Yes, that is true; but our friends, Wade, Davis, Phillips, and others are hard to please. I am not capable of doing so. I can not please them without wantonly violating not only my oath, but the most vital principles upon which our government was founded. As to those who, like Wade and the rest, see fit to depreciate my policy and cavil at my official acts, I shall not complain of them. I accord them the utmost freedom of speech and liberty of the press, but shall not change the policy I have adopted in the full belief that I am right. I feel on this subject as an Illinois farmer once expressed himself while eating cheese. He was interrupted in the midst of his repast by the entrance of his son, who exclaimed, 'Hold on, dad! there's skippers in that cheese you're eating!'

"'Never mind, Tom,' said he, as he kept on munching his cheese, 'if they can stand it I can.'"

Lincoln could not always refrain from an apt repartee even when he knew it would give offense.

Ward H. Lamon told this story of President Lincoln, whom he found one day in a particularly gloomy frame of mind. Lamon said:

"The President remarked, as I came in, 'I fear I have made Senator Wade, of Ohio, my enemy for life.'

"'How?' I asked.

" 'Well,' continued the president, 'Wade was here just now urging me to dismiss Grant, and, in response to something he said, I remarked, "Senator, that reminds me of a story."' "

" 'What did Wade say?' I inquired of the president.

" 'He said, in a petulant way,' the president responded, " 'It is with you, sir, all story, story! You are the father of every military blunder that has been made during the war. This government is on the road to hell, sir, by reason of your obstinacy, and you are not a mile from there this minute.' "

" 'What did you say then?' "

" 'I good-naturedly said to him,' the president replied, " 'Senator, that is just about the distance from here to the capitol, is it not?' " He was very angry, grabbed up his hat and cane, and went away.' "

At this time also, Horace Greeley, being assured that the time had come for a new effort on behalf of peace, entered into negotiations with certain commissioners of the Confederate Government, to that end. Lincoln had no faith in the undertaking, but gave to Greeley the following document written in the president's own hand:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, July 18, 1864.

To whom it may concern: Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the Executive government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points, and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways.

Abraham Lincoln.

Greeley proceeded to Niagara Falls, where he met the Confederate Commissioners, Clement C. Clay, Jacob Thompson, James P. Holcombe and George N. Sanders, offering them immunity from arrest if they would go to Washington carrying with them authority from the Confederate Government to ne-

gotiate for peace. Those commissioners, however, had no such credentials as could justify their accepting the invitation. Greeley found himself in a false position, and without stopping to ask whether he himself was not to blame for it, he blamed the president. In a letter which was not published until long afterward, Greeley made the president this hysterical proposal:

I fear that my chance for usefulness has passed. I know that nine-tenths of the whole American people, North and South, are anxious for peace—peace on almost any terms—and utterly sick of human slaughter and devastation. I know that, to the general eye, it now seems that the rebels are anxious to negotiate and that we refuse their advances. I know that if this impression be not removed we shall be beaten out of sight next November. I firmly believe that, were the election to take place to-morrow, the Democratic majority in this State and Pennsylvania would amount to 100,000, and that we should lose Connecticut also. Now if the rebellion can be crushed before November it will do to go on; if not, we are rushing to certain ruin.

What, then, can I do in Washington? Your trusted advisers nearly all think I ought to go to Fort Lafayette for what I have done already. Seward wanted me sent there for my brief conference with M. Mercier. The cry has steadily been, No truce! No armistice! No negotiation! No mediation! Nothing but surrender at discretion! I never heard of such fatuity before. There is nothing like it in history. It *must* result in disaster, or all experience is delusive.

Now I do not know that a tolerable peace could be had, but I believe it might have been last month; and, at all events, I know that an honest, sincere effort for it would have done us immense good. And I think no Government fighting a rebellion should ever close its ears to any proposition the rebels may make.

I beg you, implore you, to inaugurate or invite proposals for peace forthwith. And in case peace cannot now be made consent to an *armistice for one year*, each party to retain unmolested all it now holds, but the rebel ports to be opened. Meantime let a national convention be held, and there will surely be no more war at all events.

Missouri in those days was sadly divided. Two factions each

led by vigorous men, had long been at war in that state, and Lincoln had in his Cabinet enough to remind him constantly of the hostility of some of the Missouri politicians. It was not, however, for the most part hostility to Lincoln. But he was so situated as to take the buffetings of both factions on occasion. The divided counsels of that state proved a bone of contention.

It was conditions such as these which confronted the president in the summer and autumn of 1864.

When Lincoln was nominated in June of 1864, it seemed probable that the war would be ended within a few months, but that summer wore away and the war did not end. Grant with an army of 120,000 men started what had ruined many a brave general before him, a campaign in Virginia. A terrific battle was fought in the Wilderness, where Lee's 52,000 men, fighting on the defensive, were a full match for Grant's 120,000. Then came the battle of Cold Harbor, with more loss of life. In a month's campaign, Grant lost nearly 60,000 men. It is not too much to say that the country was appalled by these losses. Any previous general would have resigned the leadership of the army in despair. Grant doggedly held on. His loss of 60,000 men had caused Lee a loss of 30,000. He was winning the war in what was probably the shortest way, but the country was horrified by so much apparently fruitless bloodshed.

If the election had occurred while these battles were in progress, Lincoln would have been defeated. McClellan would have been elected on his platform which declared the war to be a failure. Lincoln himself on August twenty-third, if not earlier, reached definitely the opinion that he was to be defeated, and he handed to the Cabinet a sealed document which he asked them to sign and witness. What it contained they did not know, but the act was ominous.

There was, however, no longer any doubt what the armies were fighting for. They were fighting to establish the truth that this was one nation. Equally they were fighting to establish the truth that one nation was a free nation.

Early in the war the soldiers had caught up a negro camp-meeting melody to which they fitted words of their own:

John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
But his soul goes marching on.
Glory, glory, hallelujah,
His soul goes marching on.

The song went into other stanzas declaring among other things the intention to hang Jeff Davis to a sour apple tree; but these did not obscure the real spirit of the song. The armies caught the step; they were marching after the soul of Old John Brown.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe caught the spirit of the melody, and wrote her *Battle Hymn of the Republic*:

In the beauty of the lilies, Christ was born across the sea,
With the glory in His bosom, that transfigures you and me;
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.

Freedom had become a watchword. George F. Root had written a rallying song to which men came, "Shouting the Battle Cry of Freedom." Lincoln had sought as his paramount object to save the Union. He now knew he was equally committed to the policy of making the whole Union free. The whole nation had come clearly to recognize this modification of the situation.

All through the conflict up and down,
Marched Uncle Tom and Old John Brown,
One face, one form, ideal;
And which was false and which was true,
The wisest sybil never knew,
Since both alike were real.

As to slavery and the border states, Lincoln now defined his attitude, tactfully but uncompromisingly, in a letter of April 4, 1864, addressed to A. G. Hodges, of Kentucky:

I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel, and yet I have never understood that the Presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling. . . . When, early in the war, General Fremont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When still later, General Cameron, the Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected, because I did not think it an indispensable necessity. When still later, General Hunter attempted military emancipation, I again forbade it, because I did not think the indispensable necessity had come. When in March, and May, and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the border states to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation and arming the blacks would come, unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition, and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it, the Constitution, or of laying strong hands upon the colored element. I chose the latter. In choosing it, I hoped for greater gain than loss, but of this I was not entirely confident. More than a year of trial now shows no loss by it in our foreign relations, none in our white military force, no loss by it anyhow or anywhere. On the contrary, it shows a gain of quite an hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, seamen, and laborers. These are palpable facts, about which, as facts, there can be no caviling. We have the men; and we could not have them without the measure. . . .

I add a word which was not in the verbal conversation. In telling this tale, I attempt no compliment to my own sagacity. I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now, at the end of three years struggle, the nation's condition is not what either party or any man devised or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God.

The president was gratified by the reception which the news-

papers accorded this letter. John Hay wrote on April 30, 1864:

The President came loafing in as it grew late, and talked about the reception which his Hodges letter had met with. He seemed rather gratified that the tribute was in the main inspired by a kindly spirit in its criticism. He thought of, and found, and gave me to decipher, Greeley's letter to him of 29 July, 1861.* This most remarkable letter still retains for me its wonderful interest as the most insane specimen of pusillanimity that I have ever read. When I finished reading, Nicolay said: "That would be nuts to the *Herald*; Bennett would willingly give \$10,000 for that." To which the President, tying red tape around the package, answered, "I need \$10,000 very much, but he can't have it for many times that."

Lincoln made no campaign speeches either in 1860 or in 1864. In his brief occasional utterances during the latter campaign, he made no references to his own reelection or to the men who were opposing him. He wrote no letters for publication, and authorized no interviews containing any direct reference to the contest between him and General McClellan. He did, however, write out what he regarded as the platform upon which he was seeking reelection. He was invited to attend a union mass meeting at Buffalo. He declined the invitation, but had some thought that it might be well to send a letter outlining his views on the campaign. He finally decided that it would be more dignified to maintain his silence, but the following fragment found among his papers after he died, gives the platform upon which Lincoln understood himself to be accepting his renomination:

Yours inviting me to attend a Union mass meeting at Buffalo is received. Much is being said about peace, and no man desires peace more ardently than I. Still I am yet unprepared to give up the Union for a peace which, so achieved, could not be of much duration. The preservation of our Union was *not* the sole avowed object for which the war was commenced. It was com-

*The text of this letter which followed the Battle of Bull Run, is quoted in the chapter relating to that battle.

menced for precisely the reverse object—to *destroy our Union*. The insurgents commenced it by firing upon the *Star of the West* and on Fort Sumter, and by other similar acts. It is true, however, that the Administration accepted the war thus commenced for the sole avowed object of preserving our Union; and it is not true that it has since been, or will be, prosecuted by this Administration for any other object. In declaring this I only declare what I can know, and do know, to be true, and what no other man can know to be false.

In taking the various steps which have led to my present position in relation to the war, the public interest and my private interest have been perfectly parallel, because in no other way could I serve myself so well as by truly serving the Union. The whole field has been open to me where to choose. No place-hunting necessity has been upon me urging me to seek a position of antagonism to some other man, irrespective of whether such position might be favorable or unfavorable to the Union.

Of course, I may err in judgment; but my present position in reference to the rebellion is the result of my best judgment, and, according to that best judgment, it is the only position upon which any executive can or could save the Union. Any substantial departure from it insures the success of the rebellion. An armistice—a cessation of hostilities—is the end of the struggle, and the insurgents would be in peaceable possession of all that has been struggled for. Any different policy in regard to the colored man deprives us of his help, and this is more than we can bear. We cannot spare the hundred and forty or fifty thousand now serving us as soldiers, seamen, and laborers. This is not a question of sentiment or taste, but one of physical force, which may be measured and estimated as horse-power and steam-power are measured and estimated. Keep it, and you can save the Union. Throw it away, and the Union goes with it. Nor is it possible for any administration to retain the services of these people with the express or implied understanding that upon the first convenient occasion they are to be reenslaved. It cannot be, and it ought not to be.

This defined the issue as Lincoln held it in his own mind. This was what the country accepted as the policy of Lincoln's administration in its second term. This was the platform upon which Abraham Lincoln was reelected. It was uncompromising

in its faith in an undivided Union which was also to be a free nation.

The question to what extent Lincoln permitted his power of patronage to be used in 1864 to carry the national election, is one whose answer depends somewhat upon the form of the question and definition of method. Campaign assessments were levied against officeholders according to the established custom of the time, and when Lincoln was informed of this fact he did not interfere. Perhaps he did not know of any other way in which the necessary expenses of a campaign could be secured than that which was then a recognized and established method. On the other hand, Mr. Arnold declares, and he was in position to know, that:

During the canvass made by the friends of the President for his nomination and election he never used his power or his patronage to insure success.

The following note, written in behalf of a friend in Illinois to an office-holder who was charged with using his power against his friend, will illustrate the views of the President:*

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Washington, July 4th, 1864.

To — Esq.

Dear Sir: Complaint is made to me that you are using your official power to defeat Mr. — —'s nomination to Congress. I am well satisfied with Mr. —, as a member of Congress, and I do not know that the man who might supplant him would be as satisfactory. But the correct principle I think is, that all our friends should have *absolute freedom* of choice among our friends. My wish therefore is, that you will do just as you think fit with your own suffrage in the case, and not constrain any of your subordinates to do other than he thinks fit with his. This is precisely the rule I inculcated and adhered to on my part, when a certain other nomination now recently made was being canvassed for.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

*Quoted in Arnold: *Life of Lincoln*, p. 293.

Fortunately for the party that had nominated Abraham Lincoln, the situation of the Union Armies improved during the autumn months. From the depression of midsummer there grew an enthusiasm and a degree of confidence which made the election of Lincoln certain. Only three states, New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky* gave their vote to McClellan. Lincoln had 212 of the 233 electoral votes. He had also a clear popular majority. In a total vote of 4,015,902, Lincoln's majority was 411,428.

The election, as Lincoln said, showed how strong and sound the nation was. It "demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great Civil War."†

*Although Kentucky voted for McClellan, Lincoln had a strong vote there. It is interesting to know that his native county showed a larger vote for him in 1864 than in 1860, and that that county furnished a considerable number of Union soldiers.

The official vote of Hardin County for president in 1860 was: Breckenridge, 144; Bell, 1,029; Douglas, 912; Lincoln, 6. Of Larue County: Breckenridge, 32; Bell, 401; Douglas, 50; Lincoln, 3. (*Frankfort Tri-Weekly Yeoman*, Nov. 13, 1860.)

The official vote of Hardin County for president in 1864 was: Lincoln, 83; McClellan, 1,010; Of Larue County: Lincoln, 17; McClellan, 700. (*Frankfort Commonwealth*, Nov. 22, 1864.)

On August 31, 1864, the nearest feasible date preceding the second draft, Hardin's total quotas were 1,210, its total credits 797, and its resulting deficiency, 413. Larue's total quotas were 527, its total credits 495, and its resulting deficiency, 132. The net surplus for the fourth district, containing these counties, was 1,346, and the net surplus for the entire state was 7,065. (U. S. adjutant-general's office. Sen. doc. 142, 61st Cong., 1st sess., p. 13, 14.) Thus, although Lincoln's native county furnished a large number of Confederate soldiers, its contribution to the Union Army was not small.

†An incident may illustrate the spirit in which some men cast their ballots for Lincoln in 1864. There was then living on a farm in the corner made by La Salle, Bureau and Lee Counties, Illinois, an aged farmer, whose house stood in La Salle County, just across the line from Lee, and whose vote had to be cast in Mendota. The day was cold and the road was rough, and the conveyance was a heavy farm wagon without springs. He had not been out-of-doors for several days, and was wholly unfit to make the journey of five miles, but he made it. Arriving at Mendota, he found that the polling-place was in a hall, up-stairs. He sent up word that he was unable to ascend the stairs, and asked if the ballot-box might be brought down. This was deemed illegal, but willing friends offered to carry him up-stairs. He declined the proffered assistance, and, though he had not for months ascended the stairs in his own house, he painfully climbed the stairway on his knees. When he reached the top of the stairs, he did not rise. Again declining the assistance of those who offered to help him, he moved down the

On election night, November 8, 1864, John Hay wrote:

The house has been still and almost deserted today. Everybody in Washington, not at home voting,* seems ashamed of it, and stays away from the President. I was talking with him to-day. He said: "It is a little singular that I, who am not a vindictive man, should have always been before the people for election marked for their bitterness—always but once. When I came to Congress, it was a quiet time. But always beside that, the contests in which I have been present have been marked by great rancor!"

The returns received at the White House that night indicated the overwhelming defeat of two men who had been Lincoln's bitterest critics, one of them being Henry Winter Davis. Lincoln's secretaries and the others in small groups assembled at the White House, expressed deep satisfaction in the rebuke which Davis and his associates had received at the hands of their constituents. After a little Lincoln said:

You have more of the feeling of personal resentment than I. Perhaps I may have too little of it, but I never thought it paid. A man has not time to spend half his life in quarrelling. If any man ceases to attack me, I never hold the past against him. It

hall, still on his knees, and did not rise till he stood up to put his ballot in the box. He was too simple-minded a man to have done it for effect. The idea came to him as he was making his slow way up the stairs. He had a son in the army; he, himself had carried his regiment's flag in the War of 1812. He doubted if he could ever recover, and he did not recover, from the strain and exposure of that day. A few weeks later, a little lad not yet four years of age was lifted up and permitted to look at his face as it lay in his coffin, and he still remembers the dignity and honesty and strong character that showed in the features of the dead man. This is the story of the last ballot, and the last crossing of his own threshold, of Eleazer Barton, my grandfather.

*Some of the states arranged for the voting of soldiers in the field, and where such provision was not made, there was generous issue of furloughs to soldiers who wanted to go home to vote. In some regiments voting in the field, small account was made of the record of the family Bible. Jean F. Loba, who afterward became a distinguished clergyman and a Doctor of Divinity, was then a private, aged seventeen. His colonel called to him and asked him whether he had voted. "I am not of age," answered Loba. "Come up and vote," answered the colonel; "any man that is old enough to carry a gun in the Union Army is old enough to vote for Lincoln."

has seemed to me recently that Winter Davis was growing more sensible to his true interest and had ceased wasting his time by attacking me. I hope for his own good he has. He has been very malign against me but has injured only himself by it. His conduct has been very strange to me. I came here as his friend and wishing to continue so. I had heard nothing but good of him; he was the cousin of my intimate friend Judge Davis. But I had scarcely been elected when I heard of his attacking me on all possible occasions.

Lincoln took his reelection rather calmly. His most significant remark was that apparently the people thought "not well to swap horses while crossing the stream." On November 11, 1864, a Cabinet meeting was held. Again we rely on the contemporary record of John Hay's diary:

At the meeting of the Cabinet to-day, the President took out a paper from his desk and said: "Gentlemen, do you remember last summer I asked you to sign your names on the back of a paper of which I did not show you the inside? This is it. Now, Mr. Hay, see if you can get this open without tearing it?"

The outside of the paper bore the endorsement of William H. Seward, W. P. Fessenden, Edwin M. Stanton, Gideon Welles, Edw. Bates, M. Blair and J. P. Usher. The president had pasted it up in so singular a style that Hay had difficulty in getting it open, and it required some cutting to accomplish this result without mutilating either the contents within or the signatures upon the back. This was what the document contained:

"Executive Mansion,
Washington, Aug. 23, 1864.

This morning and for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this Administration will not be reelected. Then it will be my duty to so cooperate with the President elect, as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration; as he will have secured his election on such ground that he cannot possibly save it afterward.

A. Lincoln.

The president explained to the Cabinet his reasons for having asked them to sign their names as witnesses of this sealed paper:

"You will remember that this was written at a time, six days before the Chicago nominating convention when as yet we had no adversary, and seemed to have no friends. I then solemnly resolved on the course of action indicated above. I resolved in case of the election of General McClellan, being certain that he would be the candidate, that I would see him and talk matters over with him. I would say, 'General, the election has demonstrated that you are stronger, have more influence with the American people than I. Now let us get together, you with your influence, and I with all the executive power of the government, and try to save the country. You raise as many troops as you possibly can for this final trial, and I will devote all my energy to assisting and pushing the war.'"

Stanton said: "And the general would answer you, 'Yes, yes,' and the next day when you saw him again and pressed these views upon him he would say 'Yes, yes,' and so on forever; and would have done nothing at all."

"At least," added Lincoln, "I should have done my duty, and have stood clear before my own conscience."

It may be questioned whether history contains any parallel for Lincoln's magnanimity in this incident. Only a man with the highest and finest nobility of soul could have done what, under those circumstances, Lincoln did regarding a man who had so disappointed and abused him, and on behalf of a country that seemed about to repudiate him.

In another act equally magnanimous Lincoln had already risen above all partisan relations with Governor Seymour, of New York. According to Thurlow Weed, shortly after Seymour's election as governor in the fall of 1862, Lincoln authorized Weed to go to Seymour and say to him that Seymour, as the Democratic governor of New York, could, if he desired, bring his whole party into line in an effort to save the Union; and that if he would do so, Lincoln would do everything in his power to pave

the way for Seymour to become president in 1864. Even if Weed's memory of this incident led him somewhat to exaggerate the affair, and Lincoln's offer to Seymour was somewhat less definite and specific, still there can be no doubt that Lincoln held toward Seymour essentially the attitude which Weed describes. In this matter we have Lincoln's own very gracious letter to Seymour, and Seymour's exceedingly distant and very guarded reply. Lincoln wrote to Seymour addressing him as "the head of the greatest State in the nation," and asking for a frank understanding with him as to their substantial agreement concerning their joint duty in "maintaining the nation's life and integrity." Seymour declined to commit himself in this matter, but said that he was confident that his opinions were shared by fully one-half of the population of the northern states, and he said:

I intend to show to those charged with the administration of public affairs a due deference and respect, and to yield them a just and generous support in all measures they may adopt within the scope of their constitutional powers. For the preservation of this Union I am ready to make any sacrifice of interest, party or prejudice.

The first of these two sentences was the really significant one. Governor Seymour did very little if anything, to show his deep interest in the preservation of the Union, and he did very much to show that he was no friend of Lincoln.

The president's message to Congress in December, 1864, took occasion to comment upon the election in its relation to his own war policy, and he viewed it with frank satisfaction. Moreover, he reflected that the nation's losses, heavy as they had been, had not really weakened it to a point below its effective strength when the war began. He said:

While it is melancholy to reflect that the war had filled so many graves, and carried mourning to so many hearts, it is some relief to know that compared with the surviving, the fallen have

been so few. While corps, and divisions, and brigades, and regiments have formed, and fought, and dwindled, and gone out of existence, a great majority of the men who composed them are still living. The same is true of the naval service. The election returns prove this. So many voters could not else be found. The States regularly holding elections, both now and four years ago . . . cast 3,982,011 votes now, against 3,870,222 cast then; showing an aggregate now of 3,982,011. To this is to be added 33,762 cast now in the new States of Kansas and Nevada, which States did not vote in 1860; thus swelling the aggregate to 4,015,773, and the net increase during the three years and a half of war, to 145,551. . . . To this again should be added the number of all soldiers in the field from Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Jersey, Delaware, Indiana, Illinois, and California, who by the laws of those States could not vote away from their homes, and which number cannot be less than 90,000. Nor yet is this all. The number in organized Territories is triple now what it was four years ago, while thousands, white and black, join us as the national arms press back the insurgent lines. So much is shown, affirmatively and negatively by the election.

It is not material to inquire how the increase has been produced, or to show that it would have been greater but for the war, which is probably true. The important fact remains demonstrated that we have more men now than we had when the war began; that we are not exhausted, nor in process of exhaustion; that we are gaining strength, and may, if need be, maintain the contest indefinitely. This as to men. Material resources are now more complete and abundant than ever.

Lincoln took occasion in this same message to consider the importunity of those who were insisting that he should hold a conference with Jefferson Davis in an effort the more speedily to win the war. The election had given him new assurance that the nation was prepared to stand by and see the war through to a successful finish. This, he believed, was the plain duty of the nation. The victory at the polls was also virtually a victory upon the battle-field:

On careful consideration of all the evidence accessible, it seems to me that no attempt at negotiation with the insurgent leader

could result in any good. He would accept nothing short of severance of the Union—precisely what we will not and cannot give. His declarations to this effect are explicit and oft repeated. He does not attempt to deceive us. He affords us no excuse to deceive ourselves. He cannot voluntarily re-accept the Union; we cannot voluntarily yield it. Between him and us the issue is distinct, simple, and inflexible. It is an issue which can only be tried by war, and decided by victory. If we yield, we are beaten; if the Southern people fail him, he is beaten. Either way it would be the victory and defeat following war.

CHAPTER XXI

THE SECOND INAUGURAL

LINCOLN entered upon his second administration with a number of changes certain in his group of intimate associates. Hannibal Hamlin, vice-president in his first administration, gave place to Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee. Mr. Hamlin would have welcomed a renomination and reelection. Lincoln carefully concealed from Hamlin his own preference in the matter. It appears to be quite certain, however, that Lincoln favored Johnson. The reason was not that Hamlin was either personally or politically repugnant to Lincoln; but that important changes had occurred since 1860. In that year a former Democratic vice-president from New England had been desirable; in 1864 it seemed to Lincoln more important that the vice-president should represent the loyal South. It can not be said that the country profited by changing Hamlin for Johnson.

There were changes in the Cabinet. Montgomery Blair was unpopular with a large faction of the Republican Party, and he wearied Lincoln with his own suspicion against other prominent men. A little more than a month before the election, Mr. Lincoln asked for Blair's resignation, which Blair promptly tendered in a spirit much to his credit.* Lincoln appointed as his successor Governor William Dennison, of Ohio.

Mr. Bates, the Attorney General, also found himself wearied with his administrative cares, and out of sympathy with the fac-

*Blair considered the request for his resignation "a peace-offering to General Frémont and his friends, dictated by Seward at the request of Thurlow Weed."

tions that had come to control the Republican interests of his own state. He resigned, his resignation to take effect the last of November, 1864. Lincoln accepted this resignation, and after an endeavor to secure as attorney general Judge Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, he appointed to the vacant position James Speed of the same state, a brother of his early friend, Joshua F. Speed.

Most important, however, of the changes in Lincoln's official family, was the resignation of Secretary Chase, which had already occurred, January 29, 1864. This event had been long in coming, and like all events long expected, its arrival was a shock.

After Lincoln's removal of General W. S. Rosecrans following his defeat at Chickamauga, September 19 and 20, 1863, Hay recorded in his diary:

I told the President Chase would try to make capital out of this Rosecrans business. He laughed and said, "I suppose he will, like the blue-bottle fly, lay his eggs in every rotten place he can find." He seems much amused at Chase's mad hunt after the presidency. He hopes the country will never do worse.

Only a great man could have borne this situation as Lincoln did, and he had his reward. Lincoln bore with Chase, utilized him, and by his courtesy and magnanimity, strengthened his own administration.

In 1864 when Chase's plan to secure the nomination had become public property, Chase offered to resign and Lincoln would not accept his resignation. He said:

It is a question which I will not allow myself to consider from any standpoint other than my judgment of the public service, and in that view I do not perceive occasion for change.

Some of Lincoln's intimate friends once called his attention to the fact that Chase, while a member of his Cabinet, was quietly working to secure a nomination for the presidency, although knowing that Lincoln was to be a candidate for reelection. Lincoln's friends insisted that a Cabinet officer ought to be made

to give up his presidential aspirations or be removed from office. The situation reminded Lincoln of a story: "My brother and I," he said, "were once plowing corn, I driving the horse and he holding the plow. The horse was lazy, but on one occasion he rushed across the field so that I, with my long legs, could scarcely keep pace with him. On reaching the end of the furrow, I found an enormous chin-fly flying up and striking him under the chin and I knocked him off. My brother asked me what I did that for. I told him I didn't want the old horse bitten in that way. 'Why,' said my brother, 'that's all that made him go.' Now, if Mr. Chase has a presidential chin-fly biting him, I'm not going to knock him off, if it will only make his Department go."

The resignation of Chase at first threatened seriously to weaken Lincoln's cause with the financiers of the country. Money is notoriously timid. The financiers of the country believed in Chase and were apprehensive of change of policy under his successor. As John Hay moved around Washington, he overheard many comments which made him wish that the president who had been patient so long, could have been patient a little longer. He wrote in his diary:

If the President has made a mistake (as I think he has) in allowing Chase to shirk his part of duty, Chase's leaving at this time is little less than a crime.

Speaking to Whitelaw Reid, Chase said that he supposed that the root of the matter was a difference in temperament between Lincoln and himself. "The truth is that I have never been able to make a joke out of this war." There is good reason to believe that when Chase's resignation had actually been accepted, he regretted having sent it in. He had become so used to resigning and being urged to remain, he supposed the process could go on forever. But he did not long have occasion to regret his rashness. A providential event occurred which made a better place for Chase and displayed again the magnanimity of Lincoln.

From the beginning of his administration, Lincoln had looked forward to the time when he could have opportunity to fill the place of chief justice of the Supreme Court. The four years of his administration went by, and Chief Justice Taney clung to life as a withered oak-leaf clings through the winter and the early spring. Lincoln said:

No man ever prayed as I did that Taney might outlive James Buchanan's term, and now I am afraid I have overdone it.

There was indeed some occasion for Lincoln's fear that he had prayed too hard. If Taney had lived to have his successor appointed either by George B. McClellan or by Andrew Johnson, it might have gone ill with the Supreme Court.

On October 12, 1864, Chief Justice Roger Taney died. The announcement of his death came in the midst of rejoicing over Union victories and over the election returns from the October states, making the reelection of Lincoln more than ever certain. Lincoln's opportunity had come to appoint to the Supreme bench a man of his own choosing. It was by all odds the most important appointment he could ever hope to make. Lincoln thoughtfully considered the matter until December sixth, and then without communicating his intention to any one, not even to his appointee or to any member of the Cabinet, he wrote out with his own hand his nomination for the position of chief justice and sent it to the Senate. The Senate confirmed the appointment without an hour's delay. That night when Salmon P. Chase went to his home, his daughter Kate met him at the door, and saluted him as chief justice of the United States.

In three important particulars the Cabinet stood unchanged. Seward had become one of Lincoln's closest friends and sincerest admirers. Stanton, too, had long since ceased to refer to the president in terms of contempt. Both these men were ready and were destined to stand by Lincoln until the end. Seward almost shared his martyrdom, and Stanton was faithful unto death.

Gideon Welles, also, retained his position as secretary of the navy.

One incident may be given, especially as it relates to an interesting aspect which the draft assumed in the later months of the war. So continuous had been the calls for troops that many states and districts were far behind in their quotas. Continued remonstrance was made to Lincoln that the quota of some particular state or district was too large. It was a great relief when any state or military division filled its quota completely. In the later months of the war there were Indian uprisings in the West, and these caused the withdrawal of certain regiments from the front. It was suggested that there were many Confederate soldiers confined in northern prisons, who would be glad to enlist in the United States Army to fight against the Indians, if they were assured that they would not be sent South to fight against their own people. The Federal authorities had stopped the exchange of prisoners. One Confederate soldier shut safely away in a northern prison, was more than the equivalent to a Union soldier sent back from the South unfit for military service. The Confederate prisoners had become convinced that there was no hope of being exchanged.

A prominent man in Pennsylvania conceived a brilliant idea. His district was behind in its quota. If he might be permitted to go to the Federal prisons he could offer a small bounty which his district would very gladly pay, and recruit a regiment of soldiers to fight against the Indians. Presumably they would very gladly accept a hundred dollars bounty, and the current rates were as high as a thousand. He went to the president and set forth his theory. He said that even the thousand-dollar volunteer was likely to be a foreigner, and quite possibly a coward and a bounty jumper. Whereas, the Confederates were fighters and would gladly devote their unexpended military energy to the conquest of Indians. Lincoln thought the idea a good one, and went with the Pennsylvania official to Stanton. Stanton was not sure that these prisoners would make good soldiers, but

was willing to give the experiment a trial. He was utterly opposed, however, to the idea that Pennsylvania should receive any credit on her quota for such enlistments. Why should Pennsylvania save her own manhood in this fashion, or be permitted to buy herself off at a saving of nine hundred dollars a soldier? These prisoners belonged to the United States, and if they were enlisted for service, no one state should have the credit for them.

Stanton was indubitably right in this contention. Pennsylvania deserved no credit at all for any such enlistment. But Lincoln had approved the idea with the promise of this credit to the state from which the suggestion had come. If Stanton's logic convinced him, as it seems it must have done, at least it did not change his resolution. Quietly but firmly Lincoln overrode Stanton, and Pennsylvania received credit for the first group of these enlistments. It will be of interest to note that the idea proved to be a good one. Major Rathbone, a personal friend of Lincoln, and the same who was with the president in the box at Ford's Theater on the night when the president was assassinated, was sent to the Federal prison at Rock Island, Illinois, where eighteen hundred Confederate prisoners were enlisted as soldiers. Their readiness to enlist caused the plan to be tried in other prisons and with like success.*

*The secretary of war furnishes this information: In the years 1864 and 1865 there were organized six Union regiments of volunteer infantry, the enlisted men of which were principally deserters and refugees from the Confederate Army and prisoners of war who had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States. A historical memorandum on the subject was printed in the *Congressional Record* of March 20, 1908, pages 3752-3754. Those regiments were called, respectively, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th United States Volunteer Infantry. They were organized respectively, as follows: 1st at Point Lookout, Maryland, March to June, 1864; 2nd at Point Lookout, Maryland, October, 1864; 3rd at Rock Island, Illinois, October, 1864; 4th at Point Lookout, Maryland, October 1864; 5th at Alton, Illinois, and Camp Douglas, Illinois, May, 1865; 6th at Columbus, Ohio, Camp Morton, Indiana and Camp Douglas, Illinois, April 1865.

It appears that the members of those regiments were enlisted without any special written stipulations relative to pay, bounty or pension or as to where they should serve, although it appears to have been the understanding that they enlisted without expectation of bounty or pension. These regiments were employed principally on the western plains, some of them in connection with Indian hostilities. Some of the men at least received bounty, and the members have been accorded a pensionable status.

Colonel H. S. Huydekoper in his pamphlet of *Personal Notes and Reminiscences*, says:

The eighteen hundred soldiers enlisted as above described, were formed into two regiments, which did excellent service till the end of the war. Not a man ever deserted, and all proved loyal to their new allegiance. From other prisons, other men were subsequently enlisted, making in all 5,738 reconstructed Rebels who served under the old flag before the close of the war.*

Thus Lincoln was ready for his second administration with a Cabinet considerably changed; but his secretaries of state, war and navy remained with him.

The story of Andrew Johnson does not belong to this volume. Yet it must be recorded that the auspices under which he assumed the office of vice-president were inauspicious from the beginning. It was widely if not generally believed by those who saw him inducted into office, that the vice-president was intoxicated at the time. Honorable John W. Forney thus recorded his experience:

I can never forget President Lincoln's face as he came into the Senate chamber while Johnson was delivering his incoherent harangue. Lincoln had been detained signing the bills that had just passed the old Congress, and could not witness the regular opening of the new Senate until the ceremonies had fairly commenced. He took his seat facing the brilliant and surprised audience and heard all that took place with unutterable sorrow. He then spoke his own short inaugural from the middle portico of the Capitol, and rode quickly home. Bitter maledictions were

*A story is related concerning a regiment of a thousand men who were enlisted at Alton, Illinois, and Camp Douglas, in Chicago. They left Chicago on two special trains. Each man had in his pocket two hundred dollars bounty in United States greenbacks, and none of them had any other money. During the period of their imprisonment the most of them had become habitual card players, if they had not previously been so. It is said that before they reached their destination a very few individuals had the lion's share of the money. Perhaps never before on earth was there so equitable an experiment in the results of starting men out in life on the basis of an equal division of property. The equal division appears not to have lasted very long.

immediately hurled against the new Vice President. I hastened to his defense to the best of my ability, believing the affair to have been an accident. Threats of impeachment were common in both parties, especially among the Democrats; and the crusade got so fierce at last, that I found myself included among those who had helped Mr. Johnson to his exposure. But no voice of anger was heard from Abraham Lincoln. When nearly all censured, and many threatened, Mr. Lincoln simply said, "It has been a severe lesson for Andy, but I do not think he will do it again."

So it came about that, soon after one o'clock on March 4, 1865, Abraham Lincoln stood for the second time upon a platform at the eastern portico of the capitol and took the oath of office as president of the United States. The morning was cold, stormy and cloudy, but at noon the rain ceased and the sun came forth. The procession from the White House was dignified and solemn. In the group that surrounded the platform, large numbers of wounded soldiers were conspicuous. Behind the president as he took his place upon the platform were the judges of the Supreme Court in their official robes, the diplomatic corps in their uniforms, and distinguished officers of the government both in military and civil life. Among these appeared the tall form of the president advancing to take the oath of office. Stephen A. Douglas was not there to hold his hat. Roger B. Taney was not there to administer the oath of office. Both these distinguished men were dead. Salmon P. Chase, the new chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, stepped forward with a Bible open at the fifth chapter of Isaiah, which the president reverently kissed, and which the chief justice later presented to Mrs. Lincoln.

The oath of office was administered by the man who had sought to supplant Lincoln, and to whom Lincoln had returned good for evil by placing him in this highest judicial position.

The second inaugural address measures the intellectual power and the moral purpose of Abraham Lincoln at high-water mark.

Noble as was the Gettysburg Address, this rises to a still higher level of nobility. Perhaps there is no state paper in the history of the government of modern nations that breathes so distinctly a religious tone. The first inaugural was conciliatory, patient and persuasive; the second embodied a spirit as generous and devout as it was wise and statesmanlike. It is the greatest of the addresses of Abraham Lincoln, and registers his intellectual and spiritual power at their highest altitude.

In a clear voice, which sometimes trembled with emotion, Lincoln read his second inaugural:

Fellow Countrymen:—At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then, a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued, seemed very fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this, four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avoid it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city, seeking to destroy it with war,—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide the effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish; and the war came. One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest, was the object for which the insurgents

would rend the Union by war, while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding.

Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces. But let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayer of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses, for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of these offenses, which in the providence of God must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern there any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, that "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

CHAPTER XXII

LIBERTY AND UNION

THE Proclamation of Emancipation was a war measure. According to the president's interpretation of his own constitutional prerogative, he had no authority to issue such a proclamation on other grounds than those of military necessity. The proclamation went into effect on January 1, 1863, and it became immediately effective in states that were then in rebellion against the government wherever the armies of the United States controlled the situation. The area within which the proclamation operated widened with each success of the Federal Army. Great numbers of slaves in territory still held by the Confederates escaped through the lines and sought shelter and protection from the Union Army. What to do with them was a question, nor had it been certain in the early days of the war by what legal right they could be held. General Butler had proclaimed them "contraband of war." This ingenious definition availed, and was employed with great freedom and elasticity until the Proclamation of Emancipation was issued. After that negroes escaping from bondage in the states in rebellion were free whenever they could get to where their freedom could be made effective. A hundred thousand negro soldiers were soon bearing arms and fighting for their own freedom; and that number before the end of the war was practically doubled.

As the end of the war grew visibly near, the question became a pressing one whether the Emancipation Proclamation, distinctly issued as a war measure, would hold after the war was over. Lincoln himself believed that, with the return of peace, the voters

of each state would have to settle whether that state was to be free or slave.

Furthermore, the Proclamation of Emancipation was limited in its operation to those states actually in rebellion. The president had no authority to extend its operation into the border states where slavery existed but rebellion did not. Lincoln had from the very first dealt very tenderly with the border states. He had understood them better than any one else in Washington. He realized their value to the Union cause. It was hard enough for them to remain within the Union, even with the slavery question eliminated from their immediate consideration. Lincoln therefore was very desirous of relieving the border states from every needless divisive question.

But it became evident as the war drew near the close that slavery must by some means be prevented from reasserting itself in the territory that had belonged to the Confederacy; and it also became a question whether the government was to have two great free areas, one north and the other south, with slavery existing and protected within a thin buffer area between these two. Such a consideration was preposterous. Lincoln again took ground upon his declaration preceding his debates with Douglas that this nation could not permanently exist partly slave and partly free. The divided house must no longer remain divided.

Lincoln was a firm believer in the Constitution. He believed that in the time of war the Constitution gave to the president power which would be dangerous for a chief executive to possess in time of peace. He gave earnest thought to the question of the status of the freed slaves, when the president's war powers should cease. Three questions he propounded for himself as follows:

Firstly—Had the president of the United States, in the exercise of his war powers, a right, under the Constitution and by public law, to decree, on grounds of military necessity, the emancipa-

tion and perpetual enfranchisement of slaves in the insurgent states and parts of states?

Secondly—Did such proclamation work, by its own vigor, the immediate, the unconditional and the perpetual emancipation of all slaves in the districts affected by it?

Thirdly—Did such proclamation, working *proprio vigore*, not only effect the emancipation of all existing slaves in the insurgent territory, but, with regard to slaves so liberated, did it extinguish the status of slavery created by municipal law, inso-much that they would have remained forever free, in fact and law, provided the Constitution and the legal rights and relations of the states under it had remained, on the return of peace, what they were before the war?

Lincoln knew well the degree of legal uncertainty in the answer to each of these questions.

The Emancipation Proclamation was extra-constitutional. Not even on the plea of military necessity could the president amend the Constitution. Furthermore, it fell outside the jural relations of slavery under international law. The slaves were property when the war began, and that relation was implied in the proclamation itself. Under what terms and for what purposes might enemy property, confiscated in time of war, and as property, be changed in character from property to persons, and retain that character after the close of war? Were they confiscated as "enemy property" and for the purpose of weakening the enemy, or was the confiscation penal in character, as a punishment for treason? In either event, the confiscation should legally have been by legal process; and there had been no such process. Was the Emancipation Proclamation ever legal? Many of the ablest lawyers denied its legality even as a war measure; few doubted its illegality after peace was restored. Moreover, it was only slaves of enemies, escaping to the Union lines, and slaves in certain designated states in rebellion that were freed. No one knew better than Lincoln that his proclamation stood by virtue of bayonets of the army, not by affirmative decision of the courts.

At the opening of Congress on December 14, 1863, Honorable James M. Ashley, of Ohio, introduced a joint resolution submitting to the states a proposition to amend the Constitution by abolishing and prohibiting slavery. Other members of the House and Senate introduced resolutions slightly differing in form, but to the same purport. The real author of the amendment, as it was ultimately adopted, was Lyman Trumbull, Senator from Illinois. He was now chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, and was a legislator of great practical ability, a ready speaker and an able debater.

In support of his resolution Senator Trumbull said:

No superficial observer even of our history, North or South, or of any party, can doubt that slavery lies at the bottom of our present troubles. Our fathers who made the Constitution regarded it as an evil, and looked forward to its early extinction. They felt the inconsistency of their position, while proclaiming the equal rights of all to life, liberty, and happiness, they denied liberty, happiness, and life itself to a whole race, except in subordination to them. It was impossible in the nature of things, that a government based on such antagonistic principles could permanently and peacefully endure, nor did its founders expect it would. They looked forward to the not distant nor, as they supposed, uncertain period, when slavery should be abolished, and the government become in fact what they made it in name, one securing the blessings of liberty to all. The history of the last seventy years has proven that the founders of the republic were mistaken in their expectations; and slavery, so far from gradually disappearing as they had anticipated, had so strengthened itself, that in 1860, its advocates demanded the control of the nation in its interests, failing in which, they attempted its overthrow. . . .

I think, then, it is reasonable to suppose, that if this proposed amendment passes Congress, it will within a year receive the ratification of the requisite number of states to make it a part of the Constitution. That accomplished, and we are forever freed of this troublesome question. We accomplish then what the statesmen of this country have been struggling to accomplish for years. We take this question entirely away from the politics of the country. We relieve Congress of sectional strife, and what

is better than all, we restore to a whole race that freedom which is theirs by the gift of God, but which we for generations have wickedly denied them.

Among the foremost advocates of the amendment was Henry Wilson. He had been a diligent student and an earnest advocate of universal freedom. He had in preparation a book on the anti-slavery legislation of the war congresses. This he afterward expanded into a large *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*. He said:

The enforcement of this proclamation will give peace and order, freedom and unity, to a now distracted country; the failure to enforce it will bring with it discord and anarchy, a dissevered Union, and a broken nation. . . . But, sir, the crowning act in this series of acts for the restriction and extinction of slavery in America, is this proposed amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting the existence of slavery forevermore in the republic of the United States.

Both in its language and in the form of argument this paragraph so precisely follows the thought of Lincoln, I suspect that the president himself was the author of it.

The amendment passed the Senate on April 8, 1864, though not without vigorous opposition. In the House, the debate began on March 19, 1864, and was not ended until June fifteenth.

During this debate it is probable that no one in the House of Representatives stood closer to Lincoln than Honorable Isaac N. Arnold, of Illinois. His address before the House contained the following impassioned appeal:

Our aim is national unity without slavery. Not "the Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is," but a nation without slavery, the Constitution the Magna Charta which shall secure liberty to all. . . . The wandering stars must be brought back with their lustre brightened by the ordeal through which they have passed. . . . We can have no national harmony and union without freedom. The fearful error of uniting free and slave

states, we shall never repeat. But if the grand idea can be realized of a free, homogeneous people, united in a great continental republic based on liberty for all, and retaining the great principles of Magna Charta, we shall see realized the noblest structure of government and national polity ever organized on earth. . . .

The Thirty-seventh Congress will live in history as the Congress which prohibited slavery in all the territories of the Union, and abolished it at the national capital. The President of the United States will be remembered as the author of the proclamation of emancipation, as the liberator of a race, the apostle of freedom, the great emancipator of his country. The Thirty-eighth Congress, if we pass this joint resolution, will live in history as that which consummated the great work of freeing a continent from the curse of human bondage. Never, since the day when John Adams plead for the Declaration of Independence, has so important a question been submitted to an American Congress, as that upon which you are now about to vote. The signing of the immortal Declaration is a familiar picture in every log cabin and home all over the land. Pass this resolution, and the vote which knocks off the fetters of a whole race, will make this scene immortal. Live a century, nay a thousand years, and no such opportunity to do a great deed for humanity, for liberty, for peace and for your country, will ever again present itself. Pass this joint resolution, and you will win a victory over wrong and injustice, lasting as eternity. The whole world will rise up to do you honor.

When the vote was reached on June 15, 1864, it stood ninety-three in favor and sixty-five opposed. This was less than two-thirds vote.

Lincoln was disappointed and much chagrined. He had held repeated conferences with the friends of the measure, and had himself dictated a form of test vote which he thought would pretty certainly indicate a final alignment. His test resolution passed the House by a substantial majority, but lacked the necessary two-thirds. Lincoln, therefore, was prepared for this defeat, but nevertheless, was saddened by it.

When the Republican Convention convened in Baltimore in June, 1864, Lincoln himself wrote the third article of the plat-

form, and gave it to Senator Morgan, of New York, Chairman of the National Committee, with instructions to make it the keynote of the convention. That article read:

Resolved, That as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength, of this rebellion, and as it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic; and that while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its own defense has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.

When Congress convened in 1864, after Lincoln's election, Lincoln reminded that body that the national vote by which he had been reelected had virtually reversed their action of the preceding year in refusing to submit to the states a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery. The Congress to whom he delivered this message was the same that had refused the necessary two-thirds vote in favor of the amendment. New members had been elected, but they would not take their seats until March 4, 1865.

Very courteously and tactfully he proposed to this session of Congress that it should not wait to have its action reversed by the new Congress which had already been elected. He said:

Although the present is the same Congress and nearly the same members, and without questioning the wisdom or patriotism of those who stood in opposition, I venture to recommend the reconstruction and passage of the measure at the present session. Of course the abstract question is not changed, but an intervening election shows, almost certainly, that the next Congress will pass the measure if this does not. Hence there is only a question of time as to when the proposed amendment will go to the States for their action. And as it is to so go, at all events, may we not

agree that the sooner the better? It is not claimed that the election has imposed a duty on members to change their views or their votes any further than as an additional element to be considered, their judgment may be affected by it. It is the voice of the people now for the first time heard upon the question. In a great national crisis like ours, unanimity of action among those seeking a common end is very desirable—almost indispensable.

Under these conditions it would seem that the passage of the amendment must have been a foregone conclusion. The Senate, which already had acted favorably upon it, repeated its favorable action, but no one knew how the House would stand. Opposition there was very strong. The most notable speech upon the subject was delivered by Thaddeus Stevens. He was chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, and the recognized leader of the House. He was aged and infirm. He seemed hardly equal to the making of a speech, but every one knew that if he spoke his words would be notable. As he clumped down the aisle to begin his address, his club-foot seemed to waken reverberations that went through the Capitol. Senators rushed in, and judges from the Supreme Court left the bench, and every available inch of space in the House was occupied as Stevens spoke. He said:

When, fifteen years ago, I was honored with a seat in this body, it was dangerous to talk against this institution, a danger which gentlemen now here will never be able to appreciate. Some of us, however, have experienced it; my friend from Illinois on my right [Mr. Washburne] has. And yet, sir, I did not hesitate, in the midst of bowie knives and revolvers, and howling demons upon the other side of the House, to stand here and denounce this infamous institution in language which possibly now, on looking at it, I might deem intemperate, but which I then deemed necessary to rouse the public attention, and cast odium upon the worst institution upon earth, one which is a disgrace to man, and would be an annoyance to the infernal spirits. . . .

Perhaps I ought not to occupy so much time, and I will only

say one word further. So far as the appeals of the learned gentleman [Mr. Pendleton] are concerned, his pathetic winding up, I will be willing to take my chance when we all molder in the dust. He may have his epitaph written, if it be truly written, 'Here rests the ablest and most pertinacious defender of slavery and opponent of liberty,' and I will be satisfied if my epitaph shall be written thus: "Here lies one who never rose to any eminence, and who only courted the low ambition to have it said that he had striven to ameliorate the condition of the poor, the lowly, the downtrodden of every race and language and color."

I shall be content, with such an eulogy on his lofty tomb, and such an inscription on my humble grave, to trust our memories to the judgment of other ages.

We have suffered for slavery more than all the plagues of Egypt. More than the first born of every household has been taken. We still harden our hearts, and refuse to let the people go. The scourge still continues, nor do I expect it to cease until we obey the behests of the Father of men. We are about to ascertain the national will by an amendment to the Constitution. If the gentlemen opposite will yield to the voice of God and humanity and vote for it, I verily believe the sword of the destroying angel will be stayed, and this people be re-united. If we still harden our hearts, and blood must still flow, may the ghosts of the slaughtered victims sit heavily upon the souls of those who cause it.

Although the Republicans had a substantial majority, and every Republican vote was certain to be favorable to the passage of the amendment, it was necessary that there should be some Democratic votes if the amendment passed the House. There were no test votes. The only roll-call which indicated the probable success or failure of the amendment was that on the main issue. Schuyler Colfax was in the chair, and the House and its assembled audience waited breathlessly for his reading of the result of the vote. It stood, ayes 119, noes 56. The constitutional majority of two-thirds had voted in the affirmative, the joint resolution had passed.

The language of the Thirteenth Amendment was substantially that of the Ordinance of 1787, under which slavery, or involun-

tary servitude, except for punishment of crime, was forever prohibited from the Northwest Territory out of which had been carved the five states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.

The Constitution may be amended only by a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress, and a confirming vote of three-fourths of the states. Some of the states were certain to vote against the amendment. Could a three-fourths vote of the states be counted on? A new state had been admitted to the Union in 1863. Forty-eight of the western counties of Virginia, lying principally west of the Alleghenies, contained a population overwhelmingly loyal. In the summer of 1861 these counties had taken measures to form themselves into a separate state, and in April, 1862, they adopted a state constitution.

Lincoln had not been enthusiastic over the admission of West Virginia as a state. He did not feel sure that it was consistent on the part of the government to be waging a war to disprove the right of a state to secede from the nation, and at the same time approve of the secession of a part of a state from the state itself. Senator Browning, who took to Lincoln on December 15, 1862, the bill for the admission of West Virginia, recorded in his Diary that Lincoln was "much distressed." Before deciding whether to approve or veto the bill, Lincoln presented to his Cabinet a request that each member submit a written opinion in answer to two questions: 1. Is the Act constitutional? 2. Is it expedient? There were at that time only six members of the Cabinet, Caleb B. Smith having retired to a judgeship in Indiana, and a new secretary of the interior not having been appointed. Of the six remaining members, Seward, Chase and Stanton answered both questions in the affirmative, and the other three in the negative. Lincoln after mature consideration, said:

We can scarcely dispense with the aid of West Virginia in this struggle; much less can we afford to have her against us in

Congress and in the field. Her brave and good men regard her admission into the Union as a matter of life and death. They have been true to the Union under very severe trials. We have so acted as to justify their hopes, and we cannot fully retain their confidence and cooperation if we seem to break faith with them.

He signed the bill that made West Virginia a state. It was another war measure. When the vote of states came on the Thirteenth Amendment, Lincoln was glad enough of West Virginia and would have welcomed another state like her.

A careful count of the states showed that it was still somewhat more than doubtful whether the amendment would be confirmed by the necessary three-fourths. One more state was needed. In October, 1864, the territory of Nevada was admitted as a state. Nevada had an exceedingly small population, and was not entitled to become a state, either by the number of its inhabitants or the prospects of its growth. Small as its population was, that population diminished rather than increased. The admission of Nevada, however, was deemed a political necessity. If the war should end leaving the Emancipation Proclamation hanging like Mahomet's coffin between earth and heaven, a situation of chaos was certain to ensue. Lincoln himself favored all necessary elasticity of construction of constitutional prerogatives in order to secure the admission of Nevada.* Nevada was admitted, and dutifully ratified the amendment. Lincoln said it was better to admit Nevada than to have to raise another million men.

The states made haste in their votes of ratification. On November 18, 1865, William H. Seward, Secretary of State, certified that the requisite three-fourths vote of ratification had been duly certified and the Thirteenth Amendment had become a

*Charles A. Dana's *Reminiscences* tell in detail the lengths to which Lincoln went to secure the admission of this state.

part of the Constitution, abolishing slavery forever wherever the flag of the United States shall float.*

During the latter part of the war, Lincoln was much concerned with the question how to restore the seceded states to the Union. His attitude toward the secessionists, both as individuals and states, was distinctly conciliatory. Had Lincoln lived he would certainly have come into collision with those leaders of his own party who favored retributive measures.

But upon what basis were the seceded states to be restored to their place in the family of the Union? The war had been fought upon the theory that this nation was one, and the Union indissoluble. But was a state that had passed an ordinance of secession to be readmitted merely by conquest? Must there not be some overt act on the part of the state itself, rescinding its ordinance of secession, and indicating its desire to be considered a state belonging to the Federal Union?

Lincoln felt the constitutional difficulties of this problem, but he was deeply interested in the practical result of getting these states back into normal relations with their sister states and with the Federal Government. His practical solution of the problem is set forth in the following words:

We all agree, that the seceded States, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that the sole

*A few other states subsequently added their vote of ratification. On August 22, 1866, Secretary Seward furnished the following list of the states which up to that time had ratified the Amendment, together with the dates of their ratifying vote:

Illinois, February 1st, 1865; Rhode Island, February 2nd, 1865; Michigan, February 2d, 1865; Maryland, February 1st and 3d, 1865; New York, February 2d and 3d, 1865; West Virginia, February 3d, 1865; Maine, February 7th, 1865; Kansas, February 7th, 1865; Massachusetts, February 8th, 1865; Pennsylvania, February 8th, 1865; Virginia, February 9th, 1865; Ohio, February 10th, 1865; Missouri, February 10th, 1865; Nevada, February 16th, 1865; Indiana, February 16th, 1865; Louisiana, February 17th, 1865; Minnesota, February 8th and 23d, 1865; Wisconsin, March 1st, 1865; Vermont, March 9th, 1865; Tennessee, April 5th and 7th, 1865; Arkansas, April 20th, 1865; Connecticut, May 5th, 1865; New Hampshire, July 1st, 1865; South Carolina, November 13th, 1865; Alabama, December 2d, 1865; North Carolina, December 4th, 1865; Georgia, December 9th, 1865; Oregon, December 11th, 1865; California, December 20th, 1865; Florida, December 28th, 1865; New Jersey, January 23d, 1866; Iowa, January 24th, 1866.

object of the government, civil and military, in regard to those States is to again get them into the proper practical relation. I believe that it is not only possible, but in fact easier, to do this without deciding or even considering whether these States have ever been out of the Union, than with it. Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had ever been abroad. Let us all join in doing the acts necessary to restoring the proper practical relations between these States and the Union, and each forever after innocently indulge his own opinion whether in doing the acts he brought the States from without into the Union, or only gave them proper assistance, they never having been out of it.

CHAPTER XXIII

APPOMATTOX

THE last hope of the Confederates received a severe shock when Lincoln was reelected. The party which had declared the war a failure, and the candidate whose whole military career had been a disappointment to his friends, went down to overwhelming defeat. Still the struggle was not ended without some futile attempt at peace without victory.

Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the Confederacy, had been a Whig, and had known Lincoln during Lincoln's one term in Congress, 1847-1848. He had long desired a personal interview with Lincoln. In June, 1863, when Lee was beginning his invasion of the North, Mr. Stephens set forth from Richmond for Fortress Monroe, and notified the admiral in Hampton Roads that he was the bearer of a communication in writing from Jefferson Davis, and asked leave to proceed to Washington for a personal conference with President Lincoln. The request was received at the very time when Lee was meeting his crushing defeat at Gettysburg. Lincoln declined the request, and Stephens did not proceed to Washington.

These measures and others fostered by Fernando Wood or by Horace Greeley, Lincoln had met successively at intervals during the war.

Near the end of December, 1864, Lincoln permitted Francis P. Blair, Sr., to go through the lines into the Confederacy. Blair was permitted to see Jefferson Davis, who expressed an earnest desire for peace "between the two countries." The result of this negotiation was that President Davis appointed three

commissioners with authority to proceed to General Grant's headquarters to confer with Secretary Seward in regard to peace. Lincoln gave to Seward these three conditions upon which alone the United States Government would consider a cessation of hostilities.

1. The restoration of the national authority throughout all the States.

2. No receding by the executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress, and in preceding documents.

3. No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government.

Seward departed for Grant's headquarters on January 21, 1865, and on the following day Mr. Lincoln himself left Washington to participate in the conference. Apparently he felt that in a matter of such moment no one but himself could speak for the administration.

The meeting between Lincoln and Seward on the one hand, and the three Confederate envoys on the other, was conducted on board the United States steamer *River Queen*, lying off Hampton Roads. The following account of the interview appeared in a Georgia paper, and is said to have emanated from the pen of Alexander H. Stephens. It preserves a characteristic anecdote of Lincoln and one which we can not afford to lose:

The three Southern gentlemen met Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward, and after some preliminary remarks, the subject of peace was opened. Mr. Stephens, well aware that one who asks much may get more than he who confesses to humble wishes at the outset, urged the claims of his section with that skill and address for which the Northern papers have given him credit. Mr. Lincoln, holding the vantage ground of conscious power, was, however, perfectly frank, and submitted his views almost in the form of an argument. . . . Davis had, on this occasion, as on that of Mr. Stephens's visit to Washington, made it a condition that no conference should be had, unless his rank as Commander

or President should first be recognized. Mr. Lincoln declared that the only ground on which he could rest the justice of war—either with his own people, or with foreign powers—was that it was not a war for conquest, for that the states had never been separated from the Union. Consequently, he could not recognize another government inside of the one of which he alone was President; nor admit the separate independence of states that were yet a part of the Union. “That,” said he, “would be doing what you have so long asked Europe to do in vain, and be resigning the only thing the armies of the Union have been fighting for.”

Mr. Hunter made a long reply to this, insisting that the recognition of Davis’s power to make a treaty was the first and indispensable step to peace, and referred to the correspondence between King Charles I. and his Parliament, as a trustworthy precedent of a constitutional ruler treating with rebels. Mr. Lincoln’s face then wore that indescribable expression which generally preceded his hardest hits, and he remarked: “Upon questions of history I must refer you to Mr. Seward, for he is posted in such things, and I don’t pretend to be right. My only distinct recollection of the matter is that Charles lost his head.” That settled Mr. Hunter for a while.

Lincoln also gave an account of this conference, or at least of a story which he was reported to have told on that occasion. This is recorded by Henry J. Raymond, who asked Mr. Lincoln concerning the truth of the report. “Why, yes,” replied Mr. Lincoln, manifesting some surprise, “but has it leaked out? I was in hopes nothing would be said about it, lest some over-sensitive people should imagine there was a degree of levity in the intercourse between us.” He then went on to relate the circumstances which called it out.

“You see,” said he, “we had reached and were discussing the slavery question. Mr. Hunter said, substantially, that the slaves, always accustomed to an overseer, and to work upon compulsion, suddenly freed, as they would be if the South should consent to peace on the basis of the ‘Emancipation Proclamation,’ would precipitate not only themselves, but the entire southern society,



Courtesy of Chicago Historical Society

ON BOARD THE RIVER QUEEN

Sherman describing his march to the sea to President Lincoln, General Grant and Admiral Porter
Painting by G. P. A. Healy

into irremediable ruin. No work would be done, nothing would be cultivated, and both blacks and whites would starve!"

Said the president: "I waited for Seward to answer that argument, but as he was silent, I at length said: 'Mr. Hunter, you ought to know a great deal better about this argument than I, for you have always lived under the slave system. I can only say, in reply to your statement of the case, that it reminds me of a man out in Illinois, by the name of Case, who undertook, a few years ago, to raise a very large herd of hogs. It was a great trouble to feed them, and how to get around this was a puzzle to him. At length he hit on the plan of planting an immense field of potatoes, and, when they were sufficiently grown, he turned the whole herd into the field, and let them have full swing, thus saving not only the labor of feeding the hogs, but also that of digging the potatoes. Charmed with his sagacity, he stood one day leaning against the fence, counting his hogs, when a neighbor came along.

" 'Well, well,' said he, 'Mr. Case, this is all very fine. Your hogs are doing very well just now, but you know out here in Illinois the frost comes early, and the ground freezes for a foot deep. Then what you going to do?'"

" 'This was a view of the matter which Mr. Case had not taken into account. Butchering time for hogs was 'way on in December or January! He scratched his head, and at length stammered: 'Well, it may come pretty hard on their snouts, but I don't see but that it will be root, hog, or die.''"

It was this story which made the phrase "Root, hog, or die" so widely current at the close of the Civil War.

The Hampton Roads Conference failed entirely in its attempt to establish peace by any other means than a complete surrender of the Confederate Army, and the overthrow of the rebellion. It probably had its value in convincing the Confederate leaders that no compromise at that time was possible. Sherman had captured Savannah, and presented it to the Nation as a Christmas gift. Lincoln, who had never been quite sure of Sherman's wisdom of his march to the sea, acknowledged Sherman's suc-

cess in a characteristic letter, and the armies settled down to their final struggle. The letter of Lincoln is as follows:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, December 26, 1864.

My Dear General Sherman:

Many, many thanks for your Christmas gift, the capture of Savannah.

When you were about leaving Atlanta for the Atlantic coast, I was anxious, if not fearful; but feeling that you were the better judge, and remembering that "nothing risked, nothing gained," I did not interfere. Now, the undertaking being a success, the honor is all yours; for I believe none of us went further than to acquiesce.

And taking the work of General Thomas into the count, as it should be taken, it is indeed a great success. Not only does it afford the obvious and military advantages; but in showing to the world that your army could be divided, putting the stronger part to an important new service, and yet leaving enough to vanquish the old opposing force of the whole,—Hood's army,—it brings those who sat in darkness to see a great light. But what next?

I suppose it will be safe if I leave General Grant and yourself to decide.

Please make my grateful acknowledgments to your whole army—officers and men.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

As the spring of 1865 opened, Lincoln left the White House for a little time, and for about ten days he and Mrs. Lincoln lived on the steamer *River Queen* at City Point near the headquarters of General Grant. There General Sherman came from his headquarters at Goldsboro, North Carolina, and Lincoln conferred with the two generals as to the fighting that still needed to be done. Lincoln desired that the end might come as speedily as possible, but with as little bloodshed as could possibly be.

On March thirty-first Grant began his forward movement. Lincoln remained at City Point and eagerly heard the news. On

April first, Sheridan won a brilliant victory at Five Forks. On April second, Petersburg and Richmond were evacuated by the Confederates. On April fourth, Lincoln started up the river and visited Richmond, where he spent two days. There he received an ovation from the liberated slaves, and when he returned to City Point he was cheered by a crowd of Confederate prisoners. This gratified Lincoln even more than the rejoicing of the freedmen. It assured him that those men would never again take up arms against the national government.

Lincoln returned to Washington soon after his visit to Richmond. Almost immediately after reaching the city the good news came for which so long he had waited. Lee sent a flag of truce to Grant, asking for a suspension of hostilities pending a conference with reference to the surrender of Lee's army. The conference was held at Appomattox, Virginia, on Palm Sunday morning, April 9, 1865. The generous terms offered by General Grant were promptly accepted; the army of General Lee was surrendered; his soldiers were permitted to retain their horses for use in the tilling of their farms, and the Civil War was virtually at an end.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE DEATH OF LINCOLN

THE surrender of General Lee led to immediate measures looking to the end of the war. The Confederacy still existed as a government upon paper, but its principal army had been captured, its president was a fugitive, and its capital was in the hands of the Union Army. There still were scattered military organizations in arms against the Federal Government, but they were feeble, ineffective and disheartened. It would require some weeks officially to terminate the rebellion, but practically the Confederacy went down with the evacuation of Richmond and the surrender of Lee's army. The draft was suspended. Edwin M. Stanton, his profanity to the contrary notwithstanding, was a religious man, and caused the new dome of the capitol to be surrounded by a transparency bearing these words:

"THIS IS THE LORD'S DOING,
AND IT IS MARVELOUS
IN OUR EYES"

Friday was the regular day for the Cabinet meeting. General Grant had come to Washington and was invited to be present. Apparently not much business was done. There was general rejoicing over the end of the war, and a consideration of what would follow by way of reconstruction.

Gideon Welles recorded concerning this meeting, that the president warned his Cabinet that he would not participate in any vindictive measures against the South.

He hoped there would be no persecution, no bloody work, after the war was over. None need expect he would take any

part in hanging or killing these men, even the worst of them. "Frighten them out of the country, let down the bars, scare them off," said he, throwing up his hands as if scaring sheep. "Enough lives have been sacrificed. We must extinguish our resentment if we expect harmony and union." There was too much desire on the part of our very good friends to be masters, to interfere with and dictate to those states, to treat the people not as fellow-citizens; there was too little respect for their right. He didn't sympathize in those feelings.

Secretary Stanton recalling this Cabinet meeting in the light of the sad events of that night, recorded on Saturday:

He was more cheerful and happy than I had ever seen him, rejoiced at the near prospect of firm and durable peace at home and abroad; manifested in a marked degree the kindness and humanity of his disposition and the tender forgiving spirit that so eminently distinguished him.

President Lincoln was a close observer of his own dreams. He was subject to them, and could not let them go without wondering what they might portend. At this last Cabinet meeting he told of a dream he had the night before, and one which he was confident portended some important event, the nature of which he did not attempt to conjecture. Secretary Welles thus recalls the president's recital of his dream:

He said it was in my department, it related to the water, that he seemed to be in a singular and indescribable vessel, but always the same, and that he was moving with great rapidity toward a dark and indefinite shore; that he had had this singular dream preceding the firing on Sumter, the battles of Bull Run, Antietam, Gettysburg, Stone River, Vicksburg, Wilmington, etc. . . . Victory did not always follow his dream, but the event and results were important. He had no doubt that a battle had taken place, or was about being fought, "and Johnston will be beaten, for I had this strange dream again last night. It must relate to Sherman; my thoughts are in that direction, and *I know of no other very important event which is likely just now to occur.*"

Through all the years of his life in the White House Lincoln had been in receipt of letters threatening his assassination. He

did not pay much attention to these. He was a brave man. He had abiding faith that he had been called to do a great work, and he believed that he would live to finish it. He had no great faith that any precaution of his would avert whatever destiny was in store for him. Moreover, he had in him a strain of innate superstition. Herndon is unquestionably right in saying that his tendency to fatalism was intensified by the Baptist preaching which he heard in his boyhood and youth. The backwoods Baptists of that day believed in predestination of a most intense and effective sort.

Lincoln had moved steadily forward through abundant and repeated warnings of assassination with as little apparent concern as Admiral Farragut had shown when his flagship, the *Hartford*, was steaming ahead through the torpedoes of Mobile Bay. Apparently it did not occur to him that the dream which conveyed some premonition of an impending event was a portent of personal evil to himself.

On the afternoon of that Friday Lincoln said good-by to Schuyler Colfax who was going west, and spent a little time with a cheerful group of friends, among them Richard Oglesby, of Illinois. He had so merry a time with them it was difficult for Mrs. Lincoln to get him away from them to dinner.

After dinner, George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, who had presided over the convention that nominated Lincoln in 1860, called, and Mr. Lincoln made an appointment to meet him with a friend on the following morning. The last bit of writing which Lincoln ever did was a card* bearing these words:

April 14, 1865.
Allow Mr. Ashmun
& friend to come in
at 9—A. M. tomorrow—

A. Lincoln

*The friend of Mr. Ashmun referred to on this card was Judge C. P. Daley, of New York.

Mrs. Lincoln had been disappointed in her effort to lionize General Grant on the occasion of his visit to the White House when he became commander-in-chief of the army. She arranged a theater party for that evening at which the general and his wife were to be her guests. Laura Keane was playing *Our American Cousin* at Ford's Theater. The manager of the theater did not fail to make it known in the afternoon papers that "the president and his lady" and "the hero of Appomattox" would attend the theater that night. The president's box was draped with flags. General and Mrs. Grant decided to leave for Burlington, New Jersey, that night. Mrs. Lincoln invited Major H. R. Rathbone and his fiancée, the daughter of Senator Ira Harris, to take the place of General and Mrs. Grant.

The president and his party reached the theater about nine o'clock. The president and his wife were greeted with applause as they entered their box from the rear, and took the places assigned. The interruption was brief, and the play proceeded.

The president sat down in a rocking chair which had been provided for him, and watched with interest the scene upon the boards. It was broad comedy, and Mr. Lincoln enjoyed it, all unconscious of the tragedy which soon was to supersede it.

That tragedy was not long delayed. John Wilkes Booth, the assassin, who knew the theater well, and had made his plans carefully, entered the box quietly and fired the fatal shot from a Derringer pistol. The audience at first did not realize that the pistol-shot was not a part of the performance. Major Rathbone was the first to understand what had occurred. He grappled with the assassin, who had already drawn a dagger, and who viciously stabbed the young officer. The blow was aimed at his heart but was warded off and received in the arm.

"*Sic Semper Tyrannis!*" exclaimed Booth.

Booth then vaulted from the box to the stage. An American flag, draped below the box, caught his spur and flung the murderer to the stage with a broken leg. Thus did the nation's flag become the mute avenger of its country's chief.

Booth rose to his feet and moved quickly to the stage exit. Although his leg was broken, he escaped to the alley behind the theater, where a horse awaited him, and he hurriedly left the city.

As soon as the spectators realized what had occurred, there was a rush of people to the box. Among them was Laura Keene, the actress, and others crowded in, bewildered. A surgeon was helped over the balustrade and into the box. The president was borne from the theater at first with no plan where to take him. Nearly opposite the theater was a lodging-house, occupied by the family of William Peterson. A young man named Clark who roomed there was standing upon the steps when men appeared in the street bearing the president. Into this young man's room on the ground floor and toward the rear of the house, they bore the unconscious form and laid it upon the bed. Eminent surgeons were summoned, and the members of the Cabinet were called. A night of unspeakable agony followed. The president never regained consciousness.

For a time Washington was in terror. It was not known at once how many of the officers of the government might have been stricken. It seemed as though conspiracy stalked everywhere, and murder lurked in every doorway. Those who lived in Washington can never forget the horror of the night when Lincoln was killed.

The same night of Lincoln's assassination an attempt was made to murder also the secretary of state, William H. Seward. He was almost fatally stabbed, and his son Frederick was very severely wounded.

General Grant had left the city for Burlington, New Jersey, a few hours before the time fixed for his assassination. Those who were to have assassinated the remaining members of the Cabinet either lost courage, or drank too heavily, or were prevented by other causes not known.

A defective door-bell on Stanton's house was probably the reason for his own escape from assassination on the same night.

There is good evidence that he was included in the general plan. At the hour fixed for the attack, an attempt was made to enter his house, but his door-bell was out of commission, and the supposed conspirator was frightened away by the approach of witnesses. Stanton was in his own home, in the back room playing with his children, when the attempt was made to enter his house. "The bell wire was broken a day or two before," he said, "and though we had endeavored to have it repaired, the bell hanger had put it off because of a pressure of orders."

Very soon after, a messenger arrived at Stanton's informing him that Secretary Seward and his son, the assistant secretary, had been stabbed. Stanton hastened thither, and saw the two men, both of whom seemed to be fatally wounded. While there, he learned that the president had been assassinated. He went at once to the headquarters of General C. C. Augur, which was next door to Seward's house, and left orders for him as military governor to hold his troops in readiness for any emergency. Then he and Secretary Welles hastened to the house where the dying president lay. The entire vicinity was filled with people who had gathered before the secretary arrived, but the crowd parted and made way for him.

All the remaining members of the Cabinet except Seward, were summoned, and all came. Andrew Johnson, Vice-President, was not there.*

*Doctor J. Franklin Jameson calls my attention to the fact that the *Washington Star* of Saturday, April 16, 1865, mentions the vice-president as being at the president's bedside at one time during the night after the assassination. Honorable James Tanner ("Corporal Tanner") who served as stenographer that night, in a letter to a friend, written on Sunday, the seventeenth, mentions Johnson as present. It is alleged that Mr. Johnson did, indeed, come in for a few minutes, but that his condition and conduct were such as to increase Mrs. Lincoln's grief, and that he withdrew, and was found in the morning in the condition which Stewart describes. This would harmonize all accounts. But it is not difficult to explain the account in the *Star* on the hypothesis that the reporter, himself on the outside of the house, and making up his report at second hand, heard or assumed, that Johnson was present with the Cabinet. Mr. Tanner subsequently came to believe, and still believes, that he was mistaken about Johnson's having been there. My own impression is that if he had actually been there, and especially if he had been there in a condition of intoxication, we should have more evidence on the subject. There are ten different contemporary pictures of the death of the

In that crisis it was Stanton who rose to the emergency. For the next few hours he was virtually president. He called his assistant, Charles A. Dana, who was a stenographer. He dictated orders and a brief account of the assassination, which is still, in some respects, the very best record we have of that event. That record reads thus:

This evening at 9:30 o'clock at Ford's Theater, the President, while sitting in his private box with Mrs. Lincoln, and Major Rathbone, was shot by an assassin who entered the box and approached behind the President. The person then leaped upon the stage, brandishing a large dagger or knife, and made his escape in the rear of the theater.

The pistol ball entered the back of the President's head, and penetrated nearly through it. The wound is mortal. The President has been insensible ever since it was inflicted, and is now dying.

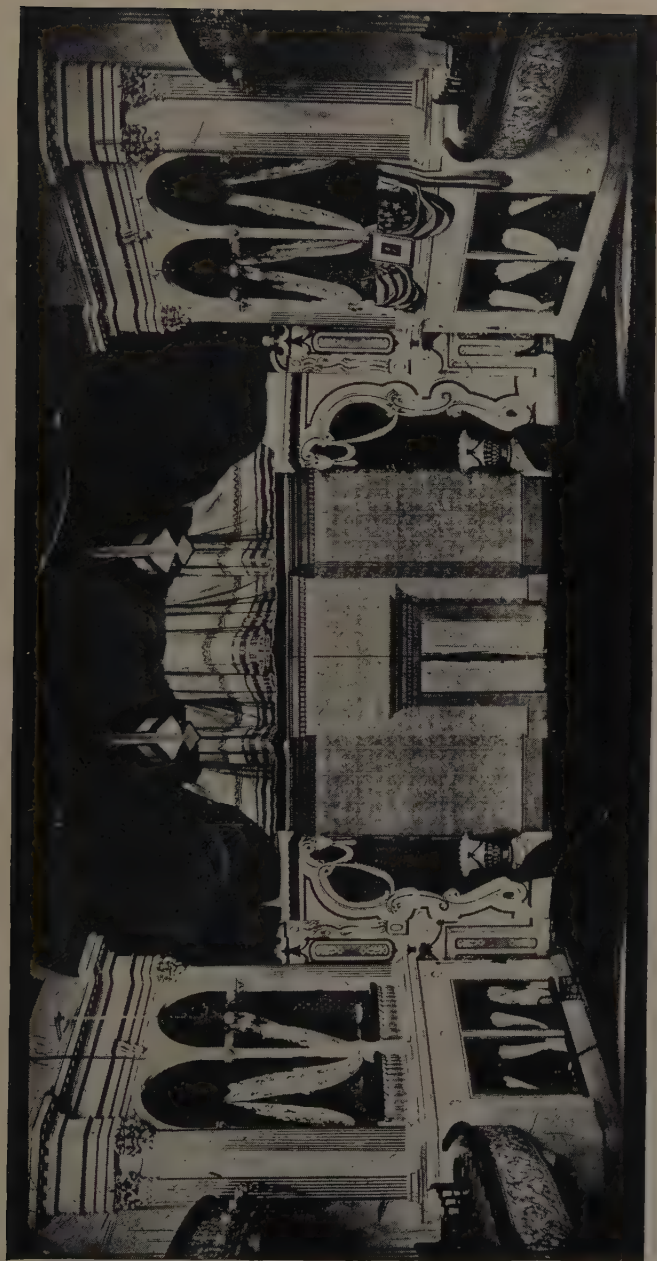
About the same hour, an assassin, whether the same or not, entered Mr. Seward's apartment, and, under a pretense of having a prescription, was shown to the Secretary's sick chamber. The assassin immediately rushed to the bed and inflicted two or three stabs on the throat and two on the face. It is hoped that the wounds may not prove fatal. My apprehension is that they will prove fatal.

The nurse alarmed Mr. Frederick Seward, who, from an adjoining room, hastened to the door of his father's where he met the assassin, who inflicted upon him one or more dangerous wounds. The recovery of Frederick Seward is doubtful. It is not probable that the President will live through the night.

General Grant and his wife were advertised to be at the theater this evening, but he started to Burlington at 6 o'clock.

This evening at a cabinet meeting, at which General Grant was present, the subject of the state of the country and the prospect of a speedy peace was discussed. The President was very cheerful and hopeful, and spoke very kindly of General Lee and others of the Confederacy and of the establishment of the government in Virginia. All the members of the cabinet, except Mr. Seward, are waiting upon the President.

president; only one shows Vice-President Johnson present. He is standing alone near the head of the bed and appears to have been inserted as an afterthought. This picture is in Raymond's *Life of Lincoln*.



THE STAGE OF FORD'S THEATER

From rare photograph made immediately after the tragedy, the flag torn by Booth's spur still hanging before the president's box

I have seen Mr. Seward, but he and Frederick were both unconscious.

Stanton sent a notice to the vice-president that the president could not live; whether Johnson was in condition to read and understand it, is a disputed question. There were those at the time who declared that he did not need the information,—that he was involved; this charge appears utterly unfounded. There were others who declared, and the charge is not so easily disposed of, that Johnson was sleeping off the effects of a carouse. As it was said that he was intoxicated when he took the oath of office as vice-president, so it is declared that he was in the same condition when called upon to assume the duties of the presidency. It was a night of wild rumor and vague surmise, and perhaps also, of foul slander. Unfortunately, the vice-president did not appear at the Petersen house that night, and is not known to have been seen by any reliable person who can assure the world that he was in condition to appreciate the solemnity of the hour. Stanton notified Chief Justice Chase that the president could not live, and directed him to be ready to administer the oath of office to the vice-president. From time to time during the night Stanton issued bulletins, apprising the public of the president's condition. At about one-thirty in the morning, Stanton wrote a formal notification of the death of the president, addressed Andrew Johnson, leaving blank the hour of the president's death. This was followed by a paper signed by Stanton, McCulloch, Dennison, Welles, Speed and Usher, informing the vice-president that if he would make known his pleasure, such arrangements as he desired would be made. These documents, prepared five or six hours before the president's death, were held in reserve until morning.

There was no discussion as to who should assume authority in that hour. Stanton assumed it by divine right, and no one challenged his prerogative.

The entire military and police force of the District of Columbia was called out. All members of the Union League were

notified by their secret call—two short, sharp raps, thrice repeated—and these men held themselves ready for duty.

To the Cabinet assembled in the Petersen house in the room adjacent to that in which the president was dying, the explanation of the events of that night appeared evident. The assassination was believed to be the signal for a new uprising of the Confederacy. The Confederate Government, though represented by a fugitive president and a scattered and fleeing Congress, was believed to have struck a desperate blow for life in a deliberate attempt to wipe out the entire leadership of the Union Government. This attack, it was believed, was to have been followed by a new uprising of the paroled Rebel Armies. How many murders the morning would show to have been committed, or in how many and how widely separated places, no one dared to predict. All awaited in terror the revelations of that fateful night.

Stanton sent for Chief Justice David K. Carter of the District of Columbia, who arrived at once and began in an adjoining room to take testimony concerning the tragedy. This required further stenographic assistance, which, fortunately, was secured next door in the person of James Tanner. At the outset it was not known who had committed the murder, but very soon evidence was secured from those who had been present at the theater, including some of the employees who knew Booth, which disclosed the name of the assassin.

Stanton issued orders for the arrest of Booth. He sent a telegram to General Grant at Philadelphia, informing him that the president had been shot, and directing him to return to Washington. He directed the Assistant Adjutant General, Thomas M. Vincent, to take charge of the Petersen house, guarding the door and limiting the admittance. He telegraphed the chief of police in New York to send his best detectives. He gave directions to the president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company to intercept General Grant at Philadelphia, and bring him to the capital at once, preceding his special train by a pilot locomotive.

Mrs. Lincoln had followed the prostrate form of her husband when it was borne across the street from the theater to the Petersen house. She was in a frenzy of grief. General Vincent wrote concerning her :

I cannot recall a more pitiful picture than that of poor Mrs. Lincoln, almost insane with sudden agony, moaning and sobbing out that terrible night. Mr. Stanton attempted to soothe her, but he was full of business, and knew, moreover, that in a few hours at the most she must be a widow. She entered the room where her husband lay motionless but once before the surgeon announced that death was fast descending, and then fainted and was practically helpless.

When, about half past one in the morning, Stanton came out of the death chamber bearing in his hand the notification he had written of the death of Lincoln, and gave it to General Vincent with directions to have a fair copy made for presentation to the vice-president, Mrs. Lincoln, whose eyes that night followed Stanton's every move, sprang forward with a terrible scream, "Is he dead? Oh, is he dead?" Stanton informed her that the president still lived, and did his best to speak some reassuring words, but his manner told beyond any power of deception what he regarded as the inevitable end of their vigil. The poor grief-stricken woman moaned out her sorrow that was beyond all human comfort.

Lincoln had believed that some tragic end awaited him, but he appears to have had no apprehension of this on his last day. On the last Sunday of his life, as he was returning from City Point upon the steamer, he read from Shakespeare. Senator Charles Sumner records that as he read a particular passage from *Macbeth*, his attention was arrested, and he repeated these lines :

Duncan is in his grave;
After life's fitful fever he sleeps well;
Treason has done his worst; nor steel, nor poison,
Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing,
Can touch him further.

These lines seemed so significant that after his assassination those who knew of Lincoln's use of them could not refrain from adding as their own expression of their application to Lincoln and the tragedy of his death, these additional lines from the same play:

This Duncan

Hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been
So clear in his great office, that his virtues
Will plead like angels trumpet-tongued against
The deep damnation of his taking-off.

The room where the president lay was small* and the ceiling was low. The group about the president's bed changed from time to time during the night. The various pictures that were made of the death-bed scene show more people than were present at any one moment, but most of those whom the pictures portray were in the room at some time during the night. Mrs. Lincoln was the only woman present. She came at intervals, and was led away and sat in the adjoining room pouring out the agony of her grief in uncontrollable sorrow. Lincoln's pastor, Reverend Phineas D. Gurley, came and offered prayer, and remained to the end. There was little change in the president's condition during the night. As morning dawned, his heavy breathing grew more quiet and the pulse grew weaker. Bulletins announced the nearer approach of death. At twenty-two minutes past seven o'clock on Saturday morning, April 15, 1865, Abraham Lincoln died. Those present at the time of his death included Mrs. Lincoln, Secretaries Stanton, Welles and Usher, Senator Charles Sumner, Robert T. Lincoln, the Reverend Doctor Phineas D. Gurley, John Hay, the physicians and a few other friends. The moment came when the breathing ceased, and the surgeons could feel no pulse. The president was dead. The silence that followed was broken by the prayer of Doctor Gurley and the memorable words of Stanton: "NOW, HE BELONGS TO THE AGES."

*The room has been enlarged by the removal of a partition.

CHAPTER XXV

THE GOVERNMENT STILL LIVES

"God reigns, and the Government at Washington still lives." So said James A. Garfield, when the tragic news of the assassination of Lincoln reached the horrified nation. The fact that the government could live through a long civil war and the assassination of its president as the war was ending, may justly be regarded as one of the strongest tests of the stability of American institutions.

As soon as it was evident that the president was dead, the company that had watched over him through the long night dispersed, some to rest and others to continue their official duties through a day as laborious as the night had been. There was a sense of relief when the several commanding generals were heard from, and it was found that none of these had been assassinated; and the morning brought hope of recovery of the secretary and assistant secretary of state, which hope was ultimately fulfilled. Warning telegrams were sent to leading officers in the army, reminding them of the danger that they also might be assassinated, and the members of the Cabinet also took precautions.

No coroner's inquest was held over the body of Abraham Lincoln. No official inquiry was ever made by any civil court, concerning the occasion of his death or the person or persons responsible for it.

Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, was sworn into office on Saturday, April 15, 1865, immediately following the death of the president. There was no ceremony. The time and circumstances admitted of nothing but stern and swift action. There was,

however, strong hope among those less patient and kindly than Lincoln had been, that the new president would prove a Joshua succeeding the dead Moses, at a time when more stern leadership was demanded than Lincoln would have brought.

The time has not yet come for complete justice to be done to the memory of Andrew Johnson. He did not fulfill the expectations of his friends and he narrowly escaped removal from his high office on impeachment. His was a difficult position; how much he deserved of the reproach which he received, some future historian will declare.

Of Andrew Johnson's inaugural as vice-president and Lincoln's second inaugural, on the fourth of March preceding, Gideon Welles wrote in his diary:

The inauguration took place to-day. There was great want of arrangement and completeness in the ceremonies. All was confusion and without order—a jumble. The vice-president elect made a rambling and strange harangue, which was listened to with pain and mortification by all his friends. My impressions were that he was under the influence of stimulants, yet I know not that he drinks. He has been sick and is feeble; perhaps may have taken some medicine, or stimulants, or his brain from sickness may have been over-active in these new responsibilities. Whatever the cause, it was all in very bad taste.

The delivery of the inaugural address, the administration of the oath, and the whole deportment of the president, were well done, and the retiring vice-president appeared to advantage when contrasted with his successor, who has humiliated his friends. Speed, who sat on my left, whispered to me that "All this is in very bad taste," and very soon he said, "The man is certainly deranged." I said to Stanton, who sat on my right, "Johnson is either drunk or crazy." Stanton replied, "There is evidently something wrong." Seward says it was his emotion on returning and revisiting the Senate; that he can appreciate Johnson's feelings, who was much overcome. I hope Seward is right, but don't entirely concur with him. There is, as Stanton says, something wrong. I hope it is sickness.*

**Diary of Gideon Welles*, vol. ii, pp. 241-2.

Secretary Welles was not among those present at Johnson's taking of the oath of office as president, and it is not certain just how much he saw of Johnson that day, or whether he saw him at all. He tells of a Cabinet meeting, held at noon, and of Johnson's being invited to be present, and of his departing himself admirably. But he later changed this entry, and changed it twice, and it is not certain just what his final impression was of Johnson's deportment that day:

I arranged with Speed, with whom I rode home, for a Cabinet meeting at twelve, meridian, at the room of the Secretary of the Treasury, in order that the Government should experience no detriment, and that prompt and necessary action might be taken to assist the new Chief Magistrate in preserving and promoting the public tranquility. We accordingly met at noon. Mr. Speed reported that the President had taken the oath, which was administered by the Chief Justice, and had expressed a desire that the affairs of the Government should proceed without interruption. Some discussion took place as to the propriety of an inaugural address, but the general impression was that it would be inexpedient. I was most decidedly of that opinion. President Johnson, who was invited to be present, departed himself admirably, and on the subject of an inaugural said that his acts would best disclose his policy. In all essentials it would, he said, be the same as that of the late President.*

Gideon Welles remained in the Cabinet, and became a strong partisan of Johnson. After the inauguration of Grant, Welles wrote in his *Diary*, March 17, 1869:

I this evening parted with President Johnson and his family, who leave in the morning for Tennessee. No better persons have ever occupied the Executive Mansion, and I part with them, socially and personally, with sincere regret. Of measures he was a good judge, but not always of men.

Just what he would have said in 1869 about Johnson's inaugu-

**Diary of Gideon Welles*, vol. ii, p. 289.

ration either as vice-president or as president we may not know, but his diary was still in his own possession, and he left his record of the vice-presidential inaugural as it had previously stood, and what he finally intended to leave of record concerning Johnson's induction into the presidency must be judged from his hesitation and erasures.

The account of the inaugural of President Johnson given in his *Life*, by John Savage, says that the ceremony took place in the private parlor of the vice-president, in the Kirkwood, and names those present as Chief Justice Chase, Secretary McCulloch, Attorney General Speed, Francis P. Blair, Sr., Montgomery Blair, Senators Foot, of Vermont, Yates, of Illinois, Ramsey, of Minnesota, Stewart, of Nevada, Hale, of New Hampshire, and General Farnsworth, of Illinois, twelve persons, including President Johnson. Only two members of the Cabinet appear to have been present.

Apparently, therefore, Andrew Johnson, who had not been present at any time during the period between the assassination and death of Lincoln, was notified by two members of the Cabinet and the chief justice of the Supreme Court, and these and eight other men, including Senator Stewart were by the largest possible count the only ones present when the oath of office was administered. We have as yet no adequate and impartial *Life* of Andrew Johnson. The present author will not trench upon the ground which belongs to some future biographer by attempting to decide whether Andrew Johnson was drunk or sober on the occasion of either of his inaugurals.

While rumors which the country heard of Johnson's condition at the time of his inauguration brought sorrow and shame to many, there were others, and a far larger number, who felt that, with all his faults, Johnson was the safer man to have at the helm to deal with the rebellious South. Honorable George W. Julian says:

I spent most of the afternoon in a political caucus, held for the purpose of considering the necessity for a new Cabinet and a line



THE HOUSE WHERE LINCOLN DIED

of policy less conciliatory than that of Mr. Lincoln; and while everybody was shocked at his murder, the feeling was nearly universal that the accession of Johnson would prove a godsend to the country.*

By the murder of Lincoln, the South lost its best and most generous friend.

John Wilkes Booth was recognized by habitual theater-goers present at the assassination, and a pursuit was immediately instituted. He immediately fled from Washington, his broken leg giving him great pain and impeding his progress. He was compelled to stop and have his leg set, and then proceeded upon his hopeless attempt at escape.

He was surrounded in a barn where he had taken refuge, and resisting arrest was shot against orders by Boston Corbett, a fanatical member of the military detachment that pursued him.†

No doubt existed at the time and no reasonable doubt exists now, that the assassination of Lincoln was the result of a conspiracy. At the time it was believed that high officials of the Confederate Government, including Jefferson Davis, had guilty knowledge of the plot. This charge was not sustained by the evidence. A number of persons were arrested as those who were believed to have participated in the conspiracy. These were tried before a military commission composed of nine officers,‡ with Judge Joseph Holt as advocate general, Judge John A. Bingham, as special advocate general, Henry L. Burnett as special assistant, and General John F. Hartranft as provost marshal. The trial began in the old arsenal in Washington on May tenth, the day of the capture of Jefferson Davis, and continued until June thirtieth. Lewis Payne, D. C. Herold, George B. Atzerot and

**Political Recollections*, p. 255.

†I am aware of the various accounts of Booth's alleged escape and his suicide many years after the war, and have seen and inspected the enbalmed body that is alleged to have been his; but these stories are unfounded.

‡The Commission was composed of Generals David Hunter, Lew Wallace, August V. Kantz, A. P. Hour, R. S. Foster, J. A. Elkin, T. N. Harris, Colonels C. H. Thompkins and D. R. Clendenin.

Mrs. Mary E. Surratt were sentenced to be hanged. Edward Spangler, Michael O'Laughlin, Doctor Samuel T. Mudd and Samuel Arnold were imprisoned. All the prisoners except O'Laughlin, who died in the military prison on the dry Tortugas, an island off the coast of Florida, were pardoned by Andrew Johnson. The first to whom a pardon was issued was Doctor Mudd, who was held to be an accessory after the fact, as he set Booth's leg, and thereby assisted in his escape. Sympathy for him seemed to be justified by his character and his professional sense of duty. The greatest interest, however, was in the case of Mrs. Surratt. Her house in Washington had been a meeting-place of the conspirators, and had long been a harbor for enemies of the republic. Evidence was introduced to show that she had actual knowledge of the plot to murder Lincoln. Strenuous effort was made on her behalf, but she was condemned to die, and appeals addressed both to Stanton and to Johnson did not avail to secure her release. She was hanged with Payne, Herold and Atzerot on Friday, July seventh.

Mrs. Surratt's son, John H. Surratt, escaped, made his way to Rome, and under an assumed name joined the Papal Zouaves in the town of Velletri, in Italy, forty miles from Rome. There he was identified by another American serving in the same company. The American consul was informed, and Surratt was arrested, but escaped and made his way to Egypt. Again he was arrested, and brought back to the United States. Unlike his accomplices, who were tried by a military commission, he was indicted by the grand jury of the County of Washington, District of Columbia, and tried before a civil court, charged with "the murder of one Abraham Lincoln," and under other counts of the indictment, with "conspiracy to murder Abraham Lincoln." Surratt escaped punishment, and lived for many years in Baltimore. After he had been set at liberty, he delivered a lecture at Rockville, Maryland, in which he stated that he had been engaged in the secret service of the Confederate Government almost constantly from the time he left college in the summer of

1861, and was very active in it. He admitted his conspiracy with Booth to capture President Lincoln and carry him to Richmond, but claimed that he had no knowledge of Booth's plan to assassinate the president nor any share in the murder. Whether this was true or not, there was rather general satisfaction in the fact that he was not hanged as his mother had been. In one sense, he secured freedom by his mother's execution. That both were conspirators against the government there was no doubt. Whether the mother and son participated in the plot for the assassination is a question on which there is violent difference of opinion.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE FUNERAL OF LINCOLN

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was shot a few minutes after ten o'clock on Good Friday night, April 14, 1865. He died next morning at twenty-two minutes after seven. The morning papers in every American city announced the shooting, but the first editions were all issued before the president's death. By seven-thirty the editors in the larger cities knew that the president was dead, and by eight o'clock extra editions were on the streets informing the people that the end had come. In cities and villages more remote, and towns that had no daily papers or no facilities for extra editions, the news spread more slowly.*

Lincoln died on the morning before Easter Sunday. Easter was not so universally celebrated then as now, but that was an unusual Easter. On Palm Sunday, Robert E. Lee had met

*In the little town in Illinois where I was born, my father was on a ladder before noon, nailing up black cotton cloth on the front of his little drug store, and my aunt was mildly protesting that he was using an extravagant quantity of muslin, and telling how much it cost a yard at that time of high prices, and I, not yet four years old, was handing him the hammer, and taking in with a child's understanding the significance of the event. My father was a job printer, as well as being physician, druggist, postmaster, notary public and superintendent of the Sunday-school. That afternoon he set up and printed a placard *OUR NATION MOURNS*. It was printed in red and blue, bordered with black, and was posted about town and displayed that night in a public meeting convened in the church. Father was somewhat disappointed that people who posted up his placard, freely given to the public, did not note that he had used the national colors and black, necessitating three impressions. I think he had never attempted anything quite so ambitious in the way of color work before; but nothing was too good for that day. Indeed, nothing that he could do for others was ever too good. This is my one contemporary recollection of Abraham Lincoln; I remember the morning of his death, the mighty sorrow, the fierce indignation against a "copperhead" who was alleged to have said he was glad of it, the threats that were freely made and never executed against him, and the three-color printing.

Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox, and Lee had surrendered his army. The end of the war had really come. Officially, it had to continue a little while longer, but that was the end, and the nation knew it. All over the country the ministers spent that week preparing Easter sermons unlike any that they had ever preached before. Most of those sermons were finished, or practically so, before Friday night.

On Saturday morning those sermons were worthless.

The ministers who had prepared them never preached them.

About eight o'clock on Saturday morning, the ministers who lived in the cities knew that they must prepare new sermons for the next morning. From that hour until noon, the ministers all over the country were receiving the same information. At least ten thousand new sermons must have been prepared that Saturday afternoon and night.

What kind of sermons were they?

A very considerable number of the sermons preached on Sunday morning, April 16, 1865, were requested for printing by the congregations to whom they were addressed, and were issued in pamphlet form. Not less than three hundred of those sermons and the sermons on the days immediately following have been discovered and duly listed in the Lincoln bibliographies.

Few people care to read these addresses, but they are of remarkable interest, and worthy of rather more than a casual examination.

All over the country, this, or something like this, occurred. The minister rose on Saturday morning with the comfortable feeling that he had only to add a few finishing touches to his Easter sermon, and it would be complete. Before he had eaten his breakfast a neighbor hastened in to tell that the president had been shot. The minister went forth to the telegraph office, or wherever the news came, and waited for the bulletins as they came over the wires, none of them bringing any hope. After the arrival of the news that the president was dead, there was a period of uncertainty, broken by the suggestion that a mass meet-

ing be called for that evening. Usually it was thought better to omit the mass meeting, since the people would be coming together a few hours later on Sunday morning.

About noon the minister came home, tired, sorrowing, bewildered and tried to eat a little luncheon. After luncheon he said to his wife, "My Easter sermon will not do. And what can I say to-morrow? What theme can I select, what text can I choose, what words of wisdom or comfort can I find, for a time like this?"

He felt helpless, and yet knew that the people would come to hear him the next morning expecting from him some strong, true, helpful, uplifting word.

Ordinarily, the minister was not a great man, and did not pretend to be one. He was just an ordinary preacher, as wise and as good as the average, and no wiser and no better. Can we imagine what went on in the thought of several thousand such men as they entered their little studies on Saturday afternoon, and took down the Bible, and found that the letters blurred and that wet spots appeared on the page? These were not statesmen or theologians, for the most part, but just ordinary ministers of Christ, suddenly confronted with a task too great for any man. How did they face that duty? Apparently, they faced it worthily, and in many instances notably so.

There are sermons preached in hospitals and at least one delivered in a state prison, and there are sermons enough that are commonplace and mediocre that were preached in pulpits notable and others obscure. But on the whole the sermons of that day were good, strong, helpful discourses, and it is much to the credit of the congregations that heard them that so many of them were printed. It is also much to the credit of the ministers of that day, most of them unknown, who threw aside their prepared Easter discourses, and preached sermons that comforted and helped their people in time of national calamity. A careful review of these old discourses increases one's respect for the American pulpit.

Henry Ward Beecher was not in his own pulpit on the Sunday immediately following Lincoln's assassination. He had gone south to deliver an oration at the raising of a flag over Fort Sumter. A week later he had returned. The closing words of his sermon on that day constitute one of the most eloquent of all perorations in the history of modern funeral oratory:

And now the martyr is moving in triumphal march, mightier than when alive. The nation rises up at every stage of his coming. Cities and towns are his pall-bearers, and the cannon beats the hours with solemn progression. Dead, DEAD, DEAD, he yet speaketh! Is Washington dead? Is Hampden dead? Is David dead? Is any man that was ever fit to live dead? Disenthralled of flesh, and risen in the unobstructed sphere where passion never comes, he begins his illimitable work. His life is now grafted upon the infinite, and will be fruitful as no earthly life can be. Pass on, thou that hast overcome! Your sorrows, oh people, are his peace! Your bells, and bands, and muffled drums, sound triumph in his ear. Wail and weep here; God makes it echo joy and triumph there. Pass on!

Four years ago, oh, Illinois, we took from your midst an untried man, and from among your people. We return him to you a mighty conqueror. Not thine any more, but the nation's; not ours, but the world's. Give him place, oh, ye prairies! In the midst of this great continent his dust shall rest, a sacred treasure to myriads who shall pilgrim to that shrine to kindle anew their zeal and patriotism. Ye winds that move over the mighty places of the West, chant his requiem! Ye people, behold a martyr whose blood, as so many articulate words, pleads for fidelity, for law, for liberty!

On Monday, April 17, 1865, a meeting of the members of Congress then present in Washington was held to arrange a suitable funeral for Abraham Lincoln. It was recalled that when the capitol was built, a vault had been prepared under it for the body of Washington; but the state of Virginia and the Washington family insisted upon his burial at Mount Vernon. Certain of members of Congress attending this meeting proposed that the body of Lincoln should be interred in this vault. The governor

and senators of Illinois, however, insisted that Lincoln's body should be conveyed back to his own state.

It is affirmed, and generally believed, that it was Mrs. Lincoln who declared that the body of her husband must be returned to Springfield. This is an error. Mrs. Lincoln's first decision was emphatic, and was against a return of the body to Illinois, and especially to Springfield. Browning's *Diary* for April fifteenth and seventeenth is explicit on this point. Mrs. Lincoln had come to think of Springfield in terms of exasperating small-town gossip, and of the eagerness of its citizens to secure office. If the body went back to Illinois, it, she thought, should be buried in Chicago. The tomb of Stephen A. Douglas was there, in a public park named for him, and with an imposing statue above it. She did not like the proposal to hide her husband away in so inconspicuous a place as Springfield. Not until the morning of April twentieth did Mrs. Lincoln consent even to consider Springfield as a place of burial, and even then she refused the suggestion that she should return and make her home there.

In Springfield, a committee was organized to secure a suitable site for the tomb, and a contract was made to purchase the admirable site where now the state capitol stands. This property belonged to a family named Mather. Work was begun at once on a temporary vault, and such progress was made by the working of day-and-night shifts that the tomb was complete, save for the ornamental facing, in time for the funeral. But on the morning of the fourth of May, the very day of the interment, Mrs. Lincoln positively refused to permit her husband's body to rest for a single night in land that had been owned by the Mathers, and a change, regarded in Springfield as temporary, was made to the public receiving vault of Oak Ridge Cemetery, a comparatively new and beautiful burial-ground well out of the city. Six weeks later she wrote a letter to the committee "demanding that the remains should be buried on a lot at Oak Ridge Cemetery, that the monument should be erected thereon, and that the title to the same should be conveyed by deed to herself and her heirs." The *State Journal* of June sixteenth, states that:

After a full discussion of the question, and in the fear that, if Mrs. Lincoln's demands were not complied with, her threats to take the body back to Washington would be carried out, the Association finally, by a vote of eight to seven, resolved to accede to her terms.

The editor said that it was at least a satisfaction that the question which had caused so much discussion was now settled, and added consolingly, "We assure them [the people of Springfield] that Oak Ridge is a most beautiful spot."

One may read the records of these events with severe censure for a wilful woman who acted most disagreeably, or with profound compassion for a grief-stricken widow, mentally unbalanced, and facing the necessity of tragic decisions.

An official committee was appointed in Washington to conduct the remains of the president to Springfield. It consisted of one member of Congress from each state and territory of the Union, and the entire congressional delegation from Illinois.

By request of Mrs. Lincoln a second and smaller coffin accompanied that of the president. This contained the body of little Willie, who had died in the White House in the first few months of the family's occupancy of that home. His little body traveled with the body of his father, and the two were buried together. Subsequently, the body of little Eddie was deposited in the same vault with that of Willie. On the death of Tad, some years later, he also, was buried in the vault with his father. Last of all, after her death, July 16, 1882, Mrs. Lincoln was laid to rest beside her husband.

The funeral of Lincoln took place on Wednesday, April nineteenth. The services were held in the East Room of the White House. The Reverend Doctor Hall of the Church of the Epiphany read the burial service. Bishop Simpson of the Methodist Church offered prayer. Reverend Doctor P. D. Gurley, of whose church, the New York Avenue Presbyterian, Lincoln and his family had been regular attendants, delivered an impressive funeral address, characterized by dignity, courage, self-restraint

and comfort. A single paragraph may be quoted from this address:

I speak what I know, and testify what I have often heard him say, when I affirm that the Divine goodness and mercy were the props on which he leaned. Never shall I forget the emphatic and deep emotion with which he said, in this very room, to a company of clergymen and others, who called to pay him their respects, in the darkest hours of our civil conflict: "Gentlemen, my hope of success in this struggle rests on that immutable foundation, the justness and goodness of God; and when events are very threatening, I still hope, that in some way, all will be well in the end, because our cause is just, and God will be on our side." Such was his sublime and holy faith, and it was an anchor to his soul. It made him firm and strong; it emboldened him in the pathway of duty, however rugged and perilous it might be; it made him valiant for the right, for the cause of God and humanity, and it held him in steady patience to a policy of administration which he thought both God and humanity required him to adopt.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, amid the tolling of bells and booming of cannon, the body of Lincoln was borne from the White House to the rotunda of the capitol. There it remained until the evening of the next day. People passed by thousands to look upon his face.

As soon as it was announced that Lincoln was to be buried in Illinois, every city and town along the route pleaded that the train might halt there and give to the people an opportunity of manifesting their affection and reverence for Lincoln. It was finally arranged that his body should return by a route essentially the same as that over which Lincoln had journeyed to Washington in 1861.

At eight o'clock on Friday morning, April twenty-first, the funeral train left Washington. At Baltimore, where four years previously, as was then believed, a plot existed for his assassination, the train made a halt, the body was removed to the dome of the exchange where it lay for several hours, viewed by large numbers of people.

That night, amid wind and rain, the train reached Harrisburg, and the body was borne through the muddy streets to the state capitol. On the following day, Saturday, the body lay in state until noon, whence it was carried again to the train, reaching Philadelphia that evening. All day Sunday the body of the president lay in state in Independence Hall. Here, on Washington's birthday in 1861, he had raised a flag above the belfry that first rang out the glad news of freedom, and said he would rather be assassinated on the spot than swerve from the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence. At four o'clock in the morning of Monday, April twenty-fourth, the train left Philadelphia, arriving about ten o'clock in New York City. There it remained until late in the afternoon of Tuesday. Among those who came to visit it in the city hall, was General Scott, pale and feeble, who sorrowfully saluted his dead commander.

That night the train moved along the bank of the Hudson and about midnight arrived in Albany, where the body lay in the state capitol until the afternoon of the following day.

At Syracuse thirty thousand people came out at midnight in a storm, and at Rochester the same solemnities greeted the body of Lincoln as it passed through that city.

Buffalo was reached on the morning of Thursday the twenty-seventh, and Cleveland on Friday the twenty-eighth; and the train arrived in Columbus on the morning of Saturday the twenty-ninth. In Cleveland the exercises were held in the public square in an imposing tabernacle erected for the occasion.

The second Sunday was spent in Indianapolis, which city was left at midnight, and the body arrived in Chicago on Monday morning, May first.

The demonstrations in New York City had been most elaborate, but those in Chicago took on a far more personal character. In no city had there been lack of sincere sorrow and reverent affection. But in Chicago hundreds of people looked upon his face who had known him well in life. There the mourning lost its official character in the deep personal affection of those who had known and continued to love him.

At eight o'clock in the evening of Tuesday, May second, the train left Chicago, and on the following morning reached Springfield. All the preceding day the roads leading to that city had been bringing in loads of visitors. By the time the funeral train arrived it seemed as if there was hardly standing room for the population and those who had come to be present on that sad occasion. Among those who returned with his remains were three of the men who had gone out with him on his journey to Washington, Colonel Ward H. Lamon, Judge David Davis and Major-General David Hunter. Among his pall-bearers were old-time neighbors, including his sometime partner, Honorable Stephen T. Logan, and Honorable S. H. Treat, the judge in whose court he had so often appeared.

All that day and on the following morning the body of Lincoln lay in state in the old state-house. At ten o'clock, on Thursday, May fourth, the coffin was closed and conveyed to the hearse, and the funeral procession formed at the north gate of the court-house square, and moved to Oak Ridge Cemetery one and a half miles distant.

Prayer was offered by the Reverend Albert Hale, and the scripture was read by the Reverend N. W. Minor, local pastors. Then was read the greatest of all Lincoln's state papers, his second inaugural.

The funeral oration was delivered by Bishop Simpson of the Methodist Church, a worthy tribute to a great man.

The closing prayer was offered by the Reverend Doctor Gurley, Lincoln's pastor, and so closed that memorable day. Never in the history of America has there been another funeral like that.

As the body of Lincoln returned to the soil of his own state, Edna Dean Proctor, then a young woman, wrote a noble poem, a copy of which in her own handwriting hangs in the tomb of Lincoln, and from which a few lines may be quoted:

Now must the storied Potomac
Honors forever divide;
Now to the Sangamon fameless
Give of its century's pride;



THE LINCOLN FUNERAL CAR

Sangamon, stream of the prairies,
Placidly westward that flows,
Far in whose city of silence
Calm he has sought his repose.

Not for thy sheaves nor savannas
Crown we thee, proud Illinois!
Here in his grave is thy grandeur,
Born of his sorrow thy joy.
Only the tomb by Mount Zion
Hewn for the Lord do we hold
Dearer than his in thy prairies,
Girdled with harvests of gold.

No description can adequately convey the impression which Lincoln's homeward journey made upon the nation and the world. There was so much to remind one of his tour away from Springfield toward Washington. The two were so like, yet so sadly different. All attempts at description fail. Perhaps no writer has more truthfully caught the spirit of that journey than Walt Whitman. The lilacs were in bloom as the funeral train moved westward, and Whitman has forever associated their annual efflorescence with memories of the last journey of Abraham Lincoln:

When lilacs last in the door-yard bloom'd,
And the great star early drooped in the western sky in the night,
I mourned, and yet shall mourn with ever returning spring.
O ever-returning spring! trinity sure to me you bring;
Lilac blooming perennial, and drooping star in the west,
And thought of him I love.

Over the breast of the spring, the land amid cities,
Amid lanes, and through old woods (where lately the violets
peeped from the ground, spotting the gray debris;)
Amid the grass in the fields each side of the lines—passing the
endless grass;
Passing the yellow-speared wheat, every grain from its shroud in
the dark-brown fields uprising;

Passing the apple-tree blows of white and pink in the orchards;
Carrying a corpse to where it shall rest in the grave,
Night and day journeys a coffin.

Coffin that passes through lanes and streets,
Through day and night, with the great cloud darkening the land,
With the pomp of the inlooped flags, with the cities draped in
black,
With the show of the States themselves, as of crape-veiled
women, standing,
With processions long and winding, and the flambeaus of the
night,
With the countless torches lit—with the silent sea of faces, and
the unbared heads,
With the waiting depot, the arriving coffin, and the somber faces,
With dirges through the night, with the thousand voices rising
strong and solemn;
With all the mournful voices of the dirges, poured around the
coffin,
The dim-lit churches and the shuddering organ—Where amid
these you journey,
With the tolling, tolling bells' perpetual clang;
Here! coffin that slowly passes,
I give you my sprig of lilac!

CHAPTER XXVII

LINCOLN AND LABOR

LINCOLN'S sympathy with the common soldier grew out of his sympathy for the common people. He was sure that God loved the common people, because He made so many of them.

It is pertinent to ask, and the more so because so many have already attempted to answer the question, What was the attitude of Lincoln toward labor?

We may be sure it was an attitude of profound sympathy, held by a man who had been born to poverty; and who knew the story of labor as only those can know it who have eaten their bread in the sweat of their face.

A consideration of the attitude of Abraham Lincoln toward labor requires us to remember, first of all, that he lived and died before the present-day industrial system had come into existence. Several people who have wanted to quote him on labor have forgotten this, and have attributed to Lincoln statements which can not be found in his published works and which are the outgrowth of conditions which came into being after he was dead. For instance, a widely quoted statement concerning the threatened rise of great corporations is known to have originated with another man in 1873; but it is quoted as from the pen of Lincoln.

Another popular quotation is this:

I am glad that a system of labor prevails under which laborers can strike when they want to, where they are not obliged to work under all circumstances, and are not tied down to work whether you pay them for it or not. I like a system that lets a man quit

when he wants to, and wish it might prevail everywhere. I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer.

This quotation can not be called strictly accurate. It is a garbled combination of two widely separated statements, each of which is worthy of some study.

The last sentence is the more readily located. The statement "Twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer," was written, apparently, about a quarter-century after he ceased to work with his hands for other men.

With this clue, we have not far to go. We find the document on which this appears to be based. It is a fragment which he prepared on July 1, 1854. Whether he delivered it as an address we do not know; but he probably did. It certainly served as the basis of subsequent addresses. The fragment in full can be found in any of the editions of his works:

Equality in society alike beats inequality, whether the latter be of the British aristocratic sort, or of the domestic slavery sort. We know Southern men declare that their slaves are better off than hired laborers amongst us. How little they know whereof they speak! There is no permanent class of hired laborers amongst us. Twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer. The hired laborer of yesterday labors on his own account to-day, and will hire the labor of others to-morrow. Advancement—improvement in condition—is the order of things in a society of equals. As labor is the common burden of our race, so the effort of some to shift their share of the burden onto the shoulders of others is the great durable curse of the race. Originally a curse for the transgression upon the whole race, when, as by slavery, it is concentrated on a part only, it becomes the double-refined curse of God upon his creatures.

Free labor has the inspiration of hope: pure slavery has no hope. The power of hope upon human exertion and happiness is wonderful. The slave-master himself has a conception of it, and hence the system of tasks among slaves. The slave whom you cannot drive with the lash to break seventy-five pounds of hemp in a day, if you will task him with a hundred, and promise him

pay for all he does over, he will break you a hundred and fifty. You have substituted hope for the rod. And yet perhaps it does not occur to you that to the extent of your gain in the case, you have given up the slave system and adopted the free system of labor.

A study of this statement in the light of its context shows:

1. Lincoln was not contrasting capital and labor; and did not recognize the distinction between the capitalist and the laborer; he denied that America has, or then had, a permanent class of hired laborers. The hired laborer and the capitalist were to Lincoln the same man, in different steps of his career.

2. Lincoln was discussing, not the system of modern industry, but the system of negro slavery in its economic aspects and contrasting it with free labor.

3. He was not defending the right of the laborer to quit any more than he was defending or denying the right of the employer to quit hiring him; that right of either side was not challenged in Lincoln's day. The question of collective bargaining was not under discussion by Lincoln.

4. When Lincoln talked of the right of the working man to better his condition, as he did, he did not have in mind the strike as the working man's instrument, but was commending work and economy such that the working man might hope to rise out of the condition of a hired laborer into that of a man laboring for himself, and possibly employing others.

The other statement is less easy to locate. Lincoln lived so remote from a sphere of strikes, and his approach to the labor question was from so different an angle than that of the modern student of industrial conditions, it is not easy to think, at first, where he would have been likely to say such words as those attributed to him. He said them, or words much like them, in New Haven, Connecticut, on March 6, 1860, two months before his nomination for the presidency. He disclaimed much knowledge of strikes and of the industrial conditions out of which they grew, but replied to the argument that the strike which he

found to be on in New England among the employees in the shoe factories of Lynn, Massachusetts, was the result of business conditions attributable to fear of a Republican victory. This charge Douglas and other Democrats had made, and Lincoln replied:

Another specimen of this bushwhacking—that “shoe-strike.” Now be it understood that I do not pretend to know all about the matter. I am merely going to speculate a little about some of its phases, and at the outset I am glad to see that a system prevails in New England under which laborers can strike if they want to, where they are not obliged to work under all circumstances, and are not tied down and obliged to labor whether you pay them for it or not. I like the system that lets a man quit when he wants to, and wish it might prevail everywhere. One of the reasons I am opposed to slavery is just here. What is the true condition of the laborer? I take it that it is best for all to leave each man free to acquire property as fast as he can. Some will get wealthy. I don’t believe in a law to prevent a man from getting rich; it would do more harm than good. So while we do not propose any war upon capital, we do wish to allow the humblest man an equal chance to get rich with everybody else. When one starts poor, as most do in the race of life, free society is such that he knows he can better his condition; he knows there is no fixed condition of labor for his whole life. I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer, mauling rails, at work on a flat-boat—just what might happen to any poor man’s son. I want every man to have the chance—and I believe a black man is entitled to it—in which he can better his condition—when he may look forward and hope to be a hired laborer this year, and the next work for himself, and finally hire men to work for him. That is the true system.

When Lincoln expressed sympathy with the strike, confessing that he did not know about it, the first fact of notice is that his sympathies were immediately with the workmen. He suggested that they stop working in factories, and go out to the farms, and become independent. He believed that factory life was a life less free than life in the open, and he hoped that the workmen who found the conditions of labor hard in factories would move from

New England to Illinois. He said so in that same address. But his main point still was his contrast of free labor and slave labor, and he made the point, that the white free laborer could stop working for the man who did not pay him what his work was worth, and the black slave could not do so; and Lincoln wished that the condition in which a man might stop working if he was not paid might prevail everywhere, meaning specifically, in the states where there was slave labor.

There is one other reference in all of Lincoln's writings or speeches to a strike. It is in a note marked "Private" and sent to Secretary Stanton on December 21, 1863. He said:

Sending a note to the Secretary of the Navy, as I promised, he called over and said that the strikes in the shipyards had thrown the completion of vessels back so much that he thought General Gilmore's proposition entirely proper.

What General Gilmore's proposition was, the War Department does not know; but evidently some cherished plan of the Navy Department had to be abandoned or modified because at that critical period, when the effort to keep England and France from recognizing the Confederacy depended upon ships, supposedly loyal men working in the shipyards went on strike. It would be interesting to know whether Lincoln would have said that under those conditions he still wished men everywhere might feel free to strike. Perhaps he would have said it was their economic right to strike and their patriotic duty not to do so; but I will not attempt to put words into his mouth.

That the government had trouble with workmen in the navy yards, who insisted on higher rates of pay than those current in private establishments, and who threatened to strike, is known to be true, although a careful search of the records, reports, and histories of the various navy yards made by the Navy Department for this work fails to produce any mention of a strike which retarded the progress of construction of ships for the navy.

Referring to the laws of December 21, 1861, and of July 16, 1862, directing that "the hours of labor and the rate of wages of the employees in the navy yards shall conform, as nearly as is consistent with the public interest, with those of private establishments in the immediate vicinity of the respective yards, to be determined by the commandants of the navy yards, subject to the approval and revision of the secretary of the navy," the secretary in his report for the year 1865 says:

The operation of the rule thus sought to be established has been satisfactory neither to the men employed nor to the government, but, on the contrary, an unceasing source of disturbance and discontent. Committees have been appointed bi-monthly at each of the yards to ascertain the rates of wages paid to similar classes of workmen in private establishments, but it has been found difficult to obtain reliable data on this subject. Some parties decline to furnish the information sought, while others give imperfect statements. When, after inquiry and investigation, a scale is adopted, having in view the interests and rights of both the government and the laborers, there is dissatisfaction, especially if in the fluctuation of the currency, or of supply and demand, there has been a reduction, and the workmen, by visiting the different private establishments, are enabled to procure from some of them certificates that higher wages are paid in some instances than the rates adopted at the yard. These certificates do not state the number or proportion of men employed at these high rates, or whether these prices are paid to all of that class in such establishment. If, on inquiry, it is ascertained that only one or two men of unusual capability receive these high prices, and that those authorized by the government are fair average rates, the explanation fails to give satisfaction, for the evidence is produced that higher wages than those on the government scale are paid in private establishments in the vicinity. The impression that there is some unfairness is engendered, complaints and strikes follow or are threatened, vigilant officers who are faithful to the government become obnoxious, and discontent prevails. I would, therefore, recommend that the acts referred to be repealed.

Lincoln carefully wrought out one deliverance on labor, and one which satisfied him permanently; and it is good reading

both for the laborer and for the capitalist. In it he starts with the same assumption, that the laborer is a potential capitalist, and that labor is itself the creator of capital; but he does not stop there. He believed that in a country whose resources were as large as they were and are in America, the laborer, if wise, could keep himself independent of capital more easily than the capitalist could make himself independent of labor. He noted the beginnings of a cleavage between labor and capital, and he found his sympathies on the side of labor. What he said on that subject he said to the nation and to the world. The paragraphs in which he enunciated most completely his views on labor are in one of his most carefully prepared papers, and one which before delivery he submitted to the reading of men in whose opinions he had most confidence: for he did not feel that on that occasion he could afford to say anything that would not bear the most careful scrutiny of the whole nation, North and South, and of other nations as well. Lincoln said:

Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between labor and capital producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of the community exists within that relation. A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and with their capital, hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class—neither work for others nor have others work for them. In most of the Southern states, a large majority of the whole people, of all colors, are neither slaves nor masters; while in the Northern, a large majority are neither hirers nor hired.

This is from Lincoln's First Annual Address to Congress, December 3, 1861. It is his most careful utterance on the subject. His sympathy as between labor and capital was with la-

bor; but he did not admit a natural antagonism, for he felt and had his experience to prove, that a young man with character and ambition and skill should not look forward to being, in America, permanently in the class of those who are hired.

We find this same point of view in all of Lincoln's discussions of labor. He began with a consideration of the difference between slave and free labor, and went on to a denial that to free labor in America there was any necessary permanent relation of subjection to capital. This he set forth in his speech in Cincinnati, September 17, 1859, where his treatment of the theme appears to have grown directly out of his discussions with Douglas, in his debates with whom the matter had risen only incidentally:

Some people assume that there is a necessary connection between capital and labor, and that connection has within it the whole of the labor of the community. They assume that nobody works unless capital excites them to work. . . . I say the whole thing is a mistake. . . . That relation does not embrace more than one-eighth of the labor of the country.

In another address he considered unnecessary transportation as a waste of labor, and used his illustrations to encourage home industries. In another he considered a depreciated currency as a wrong to labor. In his Second Annual Message to Congress, December 1, 1862, he considered the effect upon free white labor of free negro labor, and declared that he believed that instead of depreciating the value of free white labor, the freedom of the slave would tend to increase it.

In his Third Annual Message, dated December 8, 1863, he considered the labor shortage produced by the war, and advised Congress to encourage immigration, for:

It is easy to see that, under the sharp discipline of civil war, the nation is beginning a new life.

In that same message he considered the possibility that the

new freedom of the slaves might involve some complications, on account of the resentment and fear of white labor in the states where there was a sudden competition of free black labor, but this he counted temporary, and to be charged to the evil of slavery, and not to any inherent hostility between labor and capital:

The proposed acquiescence of the national executive in any reasonable temporary State arrangement for the freed people is made with the view of possibly modifying the confusion and destitution which must at best attend all classes by a total revolution of labor throughout whole States.

On March 21, 1864, he received a committee from the Workmen's Association of New York, and in reply to their address he quoted in full what he had said to Congress in 1861, and added:

The views then expressed remain unchanged, nor have I much to add. None are so deeply interested to resist the present rebellion as the working people. Let them beware of prejudice, working division and hostility among themselves. The most notable feature of a disturbance in your city last summer was the hanging of some working people by other working people. It should never be so. The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues and kindreds. Nor should this lead to a war upon property, or the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.

These were the most direct of all words ever uttered by Lincoln on the issue, then rising, of hostility between labor and capital, and they were his final words on this theme.

In his Fourth Annual Message to Congress, dated December

6, 1864, he spoke of the very high cost of labor, particularly as it affected the building of the transcontinental railways; but he did not go into the matter at length, merely congratulating the country that notwithstanding this added element of difficulty, the work was making progress.

One of the most striking of Lincoln's statements on labor was probably never published during his lifetime, but appears to have been used by him more than once in more or less formal addresses. It exists, like the 1854 document, in the form of notes. The notes on this topic were in a discussion of the tariff. They appear to have been made in 1847. The notes cover several pages, and seem to have been his own attempt to define to himself the underlying principles of tariff legislation. In the midst of the notes, I find this paragraph:

In the early days of our race the Almighty said to the first of our race, "In the sweat of the face shalt thou eat bread"; and since then, if we except the light and air from heaven, no good thing has been or can be enjoyed by us without having first cost labor. And inasmuch as most good things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened, in all ages of the world, that some have labored, and others without labor enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong, and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good government.

He went on to a discussion of the means of eliminating unnecessary labor and idleness, and dwelt, as he did at other times, on the waste of useless transportation; and then returned to a consideration of the tariff. The foregoing paragraph is to be interpreted in the light of its context. It was the tariff question which Lincoln was just then considering, and the labor question came into it incidentally. Nevertheless, this is a striking paragraph, and shows how deep was his sympathy with the men who labor, and how clear his conviction that as labor produced

wealth, the wealth produced belongs to the men who produce it.

One thing ought to be noted, which is that the laboring men of England recognized in Lincoln a friend of labor. The Civil War brought great hardships in the cotton mills of England, and England's temptation to recognize the Confederacy was strong. Henry Ward Beecher went to England and pleaded with the working men, who were at first very unwilling to hear him. His message was in effect what Lowell had said in his *Biglow Papers*:

Laborin' man and laborin' woman
Has one glory and one shame;
Everything that's done inhuman
Injures all on 'em the same.

The fight of the North for a free nation was stated strongly as a reason why England should suffer economic loss, if necessary, rather than support a moral wrong. It brought great joy to Lincoln when the cotton operatives of Lancashire, to the number of six thousand, at a meeting in Manchester, on New Year's Eve, in 1862, urged Lincoln to abolish slavery, and refused to petition Her Majesty's Government to recognize the cause of the South. On January 19, 1863, Lincoln replied to the Manchester working men in a letter which displayed sincere gratification.

In March, 1864, the Workingmen's Association of New York City made him an honorary member, following the lead of a convention of trade unionists who, assembled in Philadelphia as early as 1861, pledged Lincoln their support and urged the abolition of slavery. These evidences of the appreciation of working men, Lincoln, himself a working man, received with genuine interest and appreciation.

The main lines of Lincoln's views on labor appear to have been laid down in his notes in 1854, developed in his Cincinnati speech of September 17, 1859, and enlarged upon in an address not quite two weeks later before the Wisconsin State Agricultural

Society in Milwaukee. They are the same that he wrought into his First Annual Message to Congress, and to which he referred near the end of his life, in his letter to the New York working men as the views which he still held and to which he could add little.

These are the important authentic utterances of Lincoln on labor and are consistent throughout. As he defined his views they are virtually these:

Free labor is better, more righteous and more remunerative than slave labor. Labor is prior to capital and superior to it; but there is no inevitable antagonism between them, nor any unalterable division of men in America into permanent classes as capitalists or laborers. The laborer has a right to aspire to be a capitalist, and should act toward capital as he will wish laborers to act toward him when he becomes a capitalist. But man is not a commodity; the rights of labor, while giving it no privilege to destroy capital, are more sacred than the rights which inhere in capital: for capital is the fruit of labor.

As a laboring man, Lincoln was a friend of labor. As a man who had risen out of a condition of hard labor, he believed in ambition and aspiration for the laboring man. He believed in freedom because freedom is the mother of hope, and he wanted the privilege of hope preserved to all who perform honest labor.

CHAPTER XXVIII

LINCOLN THE ORATOR

HAD Abraham Lincoln been everything else that he was and lacked his oratorical powers, he would never have been president of the United States.

Oratory is now in disrepute. It has practically disappeared from political campaigns. It is a lost art in the court room. It is little better than a stranger in both Houses of Congress. As for the Supreme Court, an orator might as well transport himself to the Gizeh Museum and attempt to be eloquent in addressing the mummified Pharaohs as the judges of that high tribunal. The pulpit is still the throne of eloquence, though there are influences at work that would drive it from this last place of vantage. Eloquence is the finest of the fine arts. The organs of speech are wholly other than the organs by which speech is received and interpreted; the lips and the ear are so constructed as not to suggest any possible relationship between them. Yet by a miracle in the presence of which all men must stand in wonder, sounds produced by one set of organs are capable of registering their effects upon the other in such manner that one man may speak and another may listen and the souls of the two be stirred by the same emotion. One man standing where a thousand others can hear him may see in their faces the effect of his words, and know that they are thinking his thoughts and are swayed by his passion and joining in his high resolves. He has no brush and palette; no mallet and chisel; no instrument of music, but he is privileged to do what the painter, the sculptor, the musician can never do, or do in part only.

It is said that when Lincoln was a boy he returned home from religious services and mimicked the preachers. The mirthful aspects of his performance appear to have impressed his cousin Dennis Hanks more deeply than any serious element which the preaching may have contained. It need not be inferred, however, that the boy's love of fun was the sole reason for these imitations. The mannerisms of the backwoods preacher could hardly have failed to excite his mirth; but beside his ridicule there was some real appreciation of the value of public discourse and aspiration to influence men through public speech.

His corn-field oratory was a ready invitation to the other boys to drop their hoes and listen, and was more appreciated by them than it was by Thomas Lincoln, whose corn needed hoeing.

During his boyhood Abraham now and then made his way to Rockport, the county-seat of Spencer County, Indiana, and there as also at Boonville, in the adjacent county of Warrick, he heard lawyers addressing juries. His court-room experience in this period, however, was limited, while regularly once a month there was preaching at the Little Pigeon church, and often more than one preacher spoke at the service.

By the time Abraham was of age, he had some local reputation as a public speaker; for, in the summer of 1830, John Hanks made the confident boast that Abraham could make a better political address than one which had just been delivered at Decatur; and Abraham, nothing loath, mounted a stump and made a speech. His experience in the debating society at New Salem gave him opportunity for the preparation of argumentative addresses, and his experience in the store brought him almost daily opportunity for discussion.

We do not know of any significant address delivered by Lincoln as a member of the Legislature; but we do know of his candidacy for reelection once in two years and of the growing appreciation which people showed of his power of speech. His campaign addresses of these years are not preserved, and we are quite sure that their destruction involves no serious loss. We

have samples enough of Lincoln's early rhetoric and descriptions of his early stump-speaking to assure us that their value was chiefly in the preparation afforded for something better. He followed in those days the style which he supposed to be most cogent and effective. It was a stilted, artificial type of oratory, and Lincoln in time outgrew it.

We have many anecdotes concerning his court-room eloquence. His power with juries lay first in his power of fair and clear statements, his ability to strip a subject of its incidentals and to display it in its fundamental attributes. His homely good sense and man-to-man attitude commended him not only to the intelligence but the favorable judgment of juries. Of his fund of humor we shall have occasion to speak in a chapter by itself. It is to be noted, however, that Lincoln seldom told stories or cracked jokes in his more serious addresses. The proof of this is to be found in all the published editions of his speeches. A tradition is current in the county-seats where Lincoln was most frequently heard, to the effect that juries learned not to look for stories when Lincoln was entirely certain that the law and evidence were on his side. When Lincoln had a good clear case and could cite the evidence and the statutes, he found little occasion to tell stories.

Lincoln's temperance address delivered in Springfield on Washington's birthday in 1842, and his address on the *Perpetuation of our Political Institutions*, delivered before the Young Men's Lyceum on January 27, 1837, are sufficient indication of the character of his prepared discourses while he was yet a young lawyer in Springfield.

In these days a new member of Congress is not expected to obtain the floor during his first term, unless it be in a night session just before the adjournment of Congress when he may be permitted to rise and address the chairman *pro tem* and ask leave to extend his remarks in print in order that he may have some campaign literature to send to his constituents and assist toward his reelection. It was not so in Lincoln's day. Very

soon after he got to Washington he was on the floor in an extended speech, arrainging President Polk for the war against Mexico. Before very long he was delivering a speech on internal improvements, and before summer he delivered a kind of stump speech in which he ridiculed General Cass, the Democratic candidate for president. Judged by our present-day standards, these speeches can not be considered great. But that is not the proper way to judge them. They were received at the time as adequate to the several occasions on which they were delivered and they told increasingly Abraham Lincoln's power as an orator.

It can do us no harm, and may be profitable, to read a portion of Lincoln's campaign speech in the presidential contest of 1840:

The speech concludes with these swelling words:

Mr. Lamborn refers to the late elections in the States, and from their results confidently predicts every State in the Union will vote for Mr. Van Buren at the next Presidential election. Address that argument to cowards and knaves: with the free and the brave it will affect nothing. It may be true; if it must, let it. Many free countries have lost their liberty, and ours may lose hers; but if she shall, be it my proudest plume, not that I was the last to desert, but that I never deserted her. I know that the great volcano at Washington, aroused and directed by the evil spirit that reigns there, is belching forth the lava of political corruption in a current broad and deep, which is sweeping with frightful velocity over the whole length and breadth of the land, bidding fair to leave unscathed no green spot or living thing; while on its bosom are riding, like demons on the wave of Hell, the imps of the Evil Spirit, and fiendishly taunting all those who dare to resist its destroying course with the hopelessness of their efforts; and knowing this, I cannot deny that all may be swept away. Broken by it, I, too, may be; bow to it, I never will. The probability that we may fall in the struggle ought not to deter us from the support of a cause we believe to be just. It shall not deter me. If ever I feel the soul within me elevate and expand to those dimensions not wholly unworthy of its Almighty Architect, it is when I contemplate the cause of my

country, deserted by all the world beside, and I standing up boldly alone, hurling defiance at her victorious oppressors. Here, without contemplating consequences, before Heaven, and in face of the world, I swear eternal fealty to the just cause, as I deem it, of the land of my life, my liberty, and my love. And who that thinks with me will not fearlessly adopt that oath that I take? Let none falter who thinks he is right, and we may succeed. But if after all we should fail, be it so. We still shall have the proud consolation of saying to our consciences, and to the departed shade of our country's freedom, that the cause approved of our judgment, and adored of our hearts, in disaster, in chains, in torture, in death, we never faltered in defending.

This lofty and artificial eloquence, in which the orator appears as a kind of political Horatius guarding alone the bridge of his country's honor, a sort of modern reincarnation of the lesser Ajax defying the lightning, deserves the tribute of a passing smile. But it deserves something more than that. It was a carefully prepared address in the style then popular, and it was part of the preparation of Lincoln for his life-work as an orator. But it is a far cry from this sort of eloquence to the Gettysburg Address and the second inaugural.

In Lincoln's earlier stump speeches he is described as indulging in the familiar oratorical tricks of the time and region. He gesticulated with wide-reaching gestures. He stooped low, and rose to his full height, raising his voice as he ascended, and sometimes accentuating his stature by standing on tiptoe. All this is to be charged up to experience in the career of Lincoln as an orator. He outgrew all these tricks. He stood calmly in his place, and if he moved, he moved with his thoughts, and the movement was natural and not ungraceful. He gesticulated little, and, that little being unstudied, was effective. His whole progress was toward simplicity and effectiveness. His was a very honest type of oratory, and it had weight with his hearers.

It may not be amiss to record one or two of Mr. Lincoln's oddities of pronunciation. Reared as he had been in the backwoods, his forms of speech partook of the peculiarities of the

region in which he lived. In Lincoln's day, the sound of Italian *a* final, was rarely heard in America; even now, it is seldom heard correctly. An Italian speaks of his capital city as "Roma," giving full value to both vowels. But an American whose home town ends with that sound, is likely either to follow the final vowel with the sound of *r*, or corrupt it into a sound more nearly represented by the letters *uh*. In Lincoln's day, hardly any one said *Americah*; now and then some one said *Americur*; but Lincoln and most of his fellow-countrymen said *Amerikay*. Some philologist might find material for a treatise in the evolution of the pronunciation of the Italian *a* in England and the United States.

Lincoln pronounced the numeral *one* as if it were spelled *own*; but the word *only*, he pronounced *unly*. The word *idea* he pronounced in two syllables with accent on the first. Lincoln almost never made a pun, but one of his very few remembered puns* depends upon these pronunciations. At one time the three judges of the Supreme Court of Illinois were Walter B. Scales, John B. Carlton and Sidney Breese, all of whom came to Illinois from Oneida County, New York. Lincoln had carried a case to the Supreme Court and had been beaten. Stephen T. Logan, who had once been Lincoln's partner, met him after the decision and in his habitual whining tone he inquired, "Well, Mr. Lincoln, how did you like the decision?" Lincoln answered, "It's all that can be expected from a Oneida (one-idea) court."

The mention of these solecisms must not, however, be understood as indicating that Lincoln's speech was slovenly, on the contrary it was surprisingly correct.

I call to mind the pronunciation of my own father, who went to Illinois in his boyhood and quickly exhausted the possibilities of the local schools. Except for the study of medicine in the office of an older physician, he was self-taught. He never studied grammar in school, and there were a very few words and

*The two puns here recorded, and one that appears in an earlier chapter, are among the few of record from Lincoln.

grammatical constructions where he made occasional mistakes. In the main, however, his pronunciation had a precision that would have shamed many a college graduate. His use of the unabridged dictionary was constant. He wrote a rapid and legible hand. He had a good literary style. He was able to converse with men who had had university training, and to hold his own in argument with them. It would easily be possible to recall a few little oddities of expression which he never outgrew. But these were not the tests of his education or his culture.

Judge Blodgett, of Chicago, remembered an occasion when Lincoln appeared before the Supreme Court of Illinois in a suit concerning a piece of property owned by Lincoln's client, on which there was a lien. Lincoln pronounced the word *lien* in one syllable, as if it were spelled *lean*. The judge was somewhat pedantic, and stopped Mr. Lincoln with the suggestion that the word should be pronounced li-en. "Very well, your Honor," said Mr. Lincoln, and corrected the pronunciation to fit that of the judge. Presently, however, he had occasion to use the word again and forgetting his recent instruction, he called it *lean*. "As you please, your Honor," said Lincoln, a little annoyed. "Not as I please," said the judge, "that is the pronunciation favored by Webster and by Worcester. It so obtains at Westminster Hall, and also at our own Supreme Court in Washington." Then again, Lincoln indulged in his rare use of a pun. "Certainly, your Honor, certainly," he said, "I only desire to say that if my client had known there was a *lion* on his farm I am sure he would not have stayed there long enough to bring this suit and I should have not had the pleasure of appearing before this honorable court."

Lincoln was not an easy speaker to report. At Gettysburg, he spoke with great deliberation, and with evident desire that his words should be accurately recorded. But when he spoke in extended discourse, his delivery was irregular, and resulted in widely varying reports of his addresses. A bitter controversy followed the Lincoln-Douglas debates on this point. The re-

ports in the *Chicago Times* were rambling and illogical. Those in the *Press and Tribune* were clear and well expressed. The Republicans charged the *Times* with misrepresenting Lincoln; the Democrats charged the *Press and Tribune* with editing the speeches. Walter B. Stevens in his *Reporter's Lincoln* thus summarizes the results of his investigations:

His voice was clear, almost shrill. Every syllable was distinct. But his delivery was puzzling to stenographers. He would speak several words with great rapidity, come to the word or phrase he wished to emphasize, and let his voice linger and bear hard on that, and then he would rush to the end of his sentence like lightning. To impress the idea on the mind of his hearers was his aim; not to charm the ear with smooth, flowing words. It was very easy to understand Lincoln. He spoke with great clearness. But his delivery was very irregular. He would devote as much time to the word or two which he wished to emphasize as he did to half a dozen less important words following it.*

It is not necessary to refer again in detail to his eloquence in the court-room, further than to remind ourselves that in the years between his election to Congress and his election to the presidency, he became a much abler and more eloquent lawyer than before. He had ability not simply to sway the feelings of a jury, but to influence a bench of judges.

That which woke in Abraham Lincoln this full power of eloquence was the moral compulsion under which he returned to politics on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. All of his clear and powerful analysis, his discriminating definitions, his cogent method of stating his own and his opponent's point of view, his facility in anecdote, his wit, his irony, his moral indignation, and his companionable sympathy, had been in training for this emergency. Abraham Lincoln as a man of eloquence had come to the kingdom for such a time as that. We can not wonder at the effect of his "lost speech" when we read the

*A *Reporter's Lincoln*, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, 1916, p. 53.

Peoria speech, and know that the two must have been compounded out of essentially the same ingredients.

Lincoln's speeches in his debates with Douglas can hardly be called eloquent. Their appeal is first to the intelligence rather than to the emotions. But they are not lacking in any quality which made them essential to their purpose. In them Lincoln emerged as a man capable of meeting on a common level one of the foremost leaders in the United States Senate, the most prominent of presidential candidates, and of holding his own in closely contested and sustained argument. These speeches met and sustained two different tests. They were effective in their appeal to the great crowds that heard them, and when printed and circulated throughout the country they won the approval of vast numbers of readers.

In a certain sense the Cooper Union address is the high-water mark of Lincoln's oratory. When delivered it astonished the people of New York, and when printed it found for itself a permanent place in political literature. It justified Abraham Lincoln's right to a foremost place among American orators.

As the Cooper Union speech was in some respects the greatest of Lincoln's orations, so was it the last of his supremely great oratorical achievements. The responsibilities of the position to which he was soon elected afforded him little opportunity for eloquence. From the time of his election as president his speeches must be judged chiefly as literature.

Lincoln had been one of the readiest of stump speakers. Although his ordinary intellectual processes were slow, there was that in the atmosphere of the court-room or the political arena that remarkably quickened his perception and made him a master of repartee. After his election to the presidency, however, his habitual caution became accentuated. He learned that he must give account for every idle word. He would not respond even to a serenade unless he had warning in advance and opportunity to prepare his address in writing.

Although a ready debater, and rather quick with a repartee

or a pat illustration suggested by an opposing argument or a passing incident, Lincoln was not a ready man in extempore address. His incidental speeches, delivered when he felt that he had nothing to say, were often disappointing. Thus R. E. Fenton wrote of him:*

Mr. Lincoln was not a successful impromptu speaker. He required a little time for thought and arrangement of the thing to be said. I give an instance in point. After the election to which I have referred, just before I resigned my seat in Congress to enter upon my official duties as Governor at Albany, New Yorkers and others in Washington thought to honor me with a serenade. I was the guest of ex-Mayor Bowen. After the music and speaking usual upon such occasions, it was proposed to call on the President. I accompanied the committee in charge of the proceedings, followed by bands and a thousand people. It was full nine o'clock when we reached the Mansion. The President was taken by surprise, and said he "didn't know just what he could say to satisfy the crowd and himself." Going from the library room down the stairs to the portico front, he asked me to say a few words first, and give him if I could "a peg to hang on." It was just when General Sherman was *en route* from Atlanta to the sea, and we had no definite news as to his safety or whereabouts. After one or two sentences, rather commonplace, the President farther said he had no war news other than was known to all, and he supposed his ignorance in regard to General Sherman was the ignorance of all; that "we all knew where Sherman went in, but none of us knew where he would come out." This last remark was in the peculiarly quaint, happy manner of Mr. Lincoln, and created great applause. He immediately withdrew, saying he "had raised a good laugh and it was a good time for him to quit." In all he did not speak more than two minutes, and, as he afterward told me, because he had no time to think of much to say.

In reading Lincoln's formal addresses one sometimes misses the power of a stately peroration. In the Lincoln-Douglas debates his addresses would have gained in power if each one had

**Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time*, pp. 70-71.

risen to a final climax. We owe to the suggestion of Seward the fact that the first inaugural has a climax with a ring of real eloquence, and the appeal of strong emotion. Lincoln was addressing his closing words to the people of the South. He said:

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I have a most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it.

As Lincoln originally wrote the address this was the conclusion except for two additional sentences:

You can forbear the assault upon it; I cannot shrink from the defense of it. With you and not with me is the solemn question of "Shall it be peace or a sword?"

This seemed to Seward too blunt and abrupt and provocative a close, and he suggested two alternatives, one of which Lincoln selected and with some modification, employed:

I am loath to close. We are not enemies but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot's grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angel of our nation.

This peroration possessed the qualities of real eloquence. Whether it should be credited to Lincoln or Seward, or shared between them, we need not now discuss. Nor need we cite in this place what must later be considered in its historic order, Lincoln's second inaugural. That address belongs wholly to Lincoln and it is eloquence of very high character.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE HUMOR OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

BISHOP FOWLER in his noted lecture on Abraham Lincoln, told his millions of interested hearers that Lincoln, before presenting to his Cabinet the Proclamation of Emancipation, read to them a chapter from the Bible. That is precisely what Lincoln would have done if he had been Bishop Fowler. What he actually did read was a chapter from Artemus Ward, concerning the virtue of the people of Utica, who would not permit that honest showman to exhibit his wax figures of the twelve apostles in that city because Judas was among them.

John Drinkwater in his noted play represents Abraham Lincoln as reading this chapter, but he prefaces the reading with a little lecture explaining that this is to relieve the tension under which they have been living. That is what Lincoln would have done if he had been John Drinkwater. But Lincoln made no explanation and felt no occasion for any.

Lord Charnwood in his excellent biography of Lincoln tells us that "It was precisely that sort of relief to which Lincoln's mind when overwrought could always turn"; and that "having thus composed himself for business" he produced the Emancipation Proclamation. That is the way Lincoln would have done it had he been Lord Charnwood. But we have no reason to suppose that Lincoln at that moment felt any special need of composing himself for the business of the occasion. Lincoln read to his Cabinet this chapter because he thought it funny. He had just received the book, and this story had occasioned a good laugh on his part. He wanted his Cabinet to laugh with him and most

of them did laugh. All laughed, apparently, except Stanton and Chase. To Lincoln there was nothing inharmonious in this odd juxtaposition. To him the love of fun was so natural and the love of humanity so natural also, that he found nothing incongruous in the combination.

Lincoln's humor was an enormous relief to him from the over-strain of his presidential responsibility. But he did not turn from serious things to humor upon any schedule, or in accordance with any logical theory, as if the time had come to take a dose of medicine, and Artemus Ward or Petroleum V. Nasby had been the prescribed bottle. When anything funny came Lincoln's way, he stopped and enjoyed the fun and then went to work again. He could interrupt a solemn Cabinet meeting to answer the knock of Elijah Kellogg, of Illinois, and invite him to come in and tell the story of the stuttering justice. It was not because the Cabinet at that particular moment had reached the point where relief was a psychological necessity. It was simply because Elijah Kellogg was at the door, and Lincoln knew, for he had often heard, his story of the stuttering justice. Some good people have seemed to feel that they must show that Abraham Lincoln took his humor on a physician's prescription. He did nothing of the kind. When he lay awake at night reading Nasby and found something funny, he laughed because he enjoyed it; and if the enjoyment was more than usually great, he got out of bed and paraded around the White House in his shirt to discover if any one else was awake who could share the fun with him. He did not take up his humor as some men take up golf, for his health. It was good for his health, but he did it because he enjoyed it.

Many anecdotes are related in Illinois county-seats about the practical jokes which Lincoln is alleged to have played. For the most part, however, his humor survived in the form of stories. Several compilations of stories alleged to have been told by Lincoln are now in existence. Colonel Alexander K. McClure, of the *Philadelphia Times*, who knew Lincoln during

the war, compiled one of the fullest of these collections and one that is perhaps as reliable as any. I own a copy of this book which once was the property of Isaac N. Arnold. Upon its fly-leaf Mr. Arnold wrote that in his judgment about half of these stories were probably stories that Lincoln had actually told. It is quite certain that very many of the anecdotes attributed to him are in no proper sense his.

The question has been hotly debated whether Lincoln ever told immodest stories. The answer is that in the days when he was riding the circuit, his taste in the matter of stories was on a level with that of the other lawyers of the period. His growth into an appreciation of higher and finer things was gradual; and was the more marked in that period of his spiritual evolution which came with the war and Lincoln's heavy responsibilities.

It is almost hopeless to attempt to convey the essence of a joke through the printed page alone. The aptness of Lincoln's humor depended upon the circumstances, and also upon Lincoln's own tone and manner. These we can not adequately reproduce. A few of the better attested of Lincoln's stories are necessary to a book like this, but only distantly can they suggest the meaning which Lincoln and his associates found in them.

Early in January, 1861, Colonel Alexander K. McClure received a telegram from President-elect Lincoln, asking McClure to visit him at Springfield. Colonel McClure described his disappointment at first sight of Lincoln in these words:

"I went directly from the depot to Lincoln's house and rang the bell, which was answered by Lincoln himself opening the door. I doubt whether I wholly concealed my disappointment at meeting him.

"Tall, gaunt, ungainly, ill clad, with a homeliness of manner that was unique in itself, I confess that my heart sank within me as I remembered that this was the man chosen by a great nation to become its ruler in the gravest period of its history.

"I remember his dress as if it were but yesterday—snuff-col-



Courtesy, George Grey Barnard

Statue by George Grey Barnard

ored and slouchy pantaloons, open black vest, held by a few brass buttons; straight or evening dress-coat, with tightly fitting sleeves to exaggerate his long, bony arms, and all supplemented by an awkwardness that was uncommon among men of intelligence.

"Such was the picture I met in the person of Abraham Lincoln. We sat down in his plainly furnished parlor, and were uninterrupted during the nearly four hours that I remained with him, and little by little, as his earnestness, sincerity and candor were developed in conversation, I forgot all the grotesque qualities which so confounded me when I first greeted him."

In Lincoln as in other strong men, there was marked individuality. Lincoln recognized this quality in other men, and he knew better than to expect great strength in any man without some counterbalancing weakness. As Lincoln was on his way to Washington to make his last desperate effort to secure appointment as land commissioner, he rode through Indiana on a stage. As they were approaching Indianapolis, Lincoln had as traveling companion an old Kentuckian who was returning from Missouri. Lincoln excited the old gentleman's surprise by refusing to accept either of tobacco or French brandy.

When they separated that afternoon, the Kentuckian to take another stage bound for Louisville, he shook hands warmly with Lincoln, and said, good-humoredly:

"See here, stranger, you're a clever but strange companion. I may never see you again, and I don't want to offend you, but I want to say this: My experience has taught me that a man who has no vices has very few virtues. Good day."

Few enough were the men who, having any little whim to gratify, considered the President too busy a man to serve their interests. To a curiosity-seeker who desired a permit to pass the lines to visit the field of Bull Run, after the first battle, Lincoln made the following reply: "A man in Cortlandt County

raised a porker of such unusual size that strangers went out of their way to see it.

"One of them the other day met the old gentleman and inquired about the animal.

"'Wall, yes,' the old fellow said, 'I've got such a critter, mi'ty big un; but I guess I'll have to charge you about a shillin' for lookin' at him.'

"The stranger looked at the old man for a minute or so, pulled out the desired coin, handed it to him and started to go off. 'Hold on,' said the other, 'don't you want to see the hog?'

"'No,' said the stranger; 'I have seen as big a hog as I want to see!'

An astonishing number of people wanted passes to the South. Some of these were mere curiosity-seekers. Some were people who professed to be able to exert influence that would assist in progress toward peace. Many were Confederate spies, who, on pretext of sickness in the family or other dire necessity, wanted liberty to pass through the Union into the Confederate lines. These requests were of course an embarrassment, but many such were made.

A man called upon the president one day and solicited a pass for Richmond.

"Well," said the president, "I would be very happy to oblige, if my passes were respected; but the fact is, sir, I have, within the past two years, given passes to two hundred and fifty thousand men to go to Richmond, and not one has got there yet."

The applicant quietly and respectfully withdrew.

Lincoln often surprised applicants for office by an apparently irrelevant story, and he sometimes cut the knot of a complicated tangle in a thoroughly characteristic and unexpected way.

A commissioner to the Hawaiian Islands was to be appointed, and eight applicants had filed their papers, when a delegation appeared at the White House on behalf of a ninth. Not only

was their man qualified, so the delegation urged, but was also in bad health, and a residence in that balmy climate would be of great benefit to him.

The president was rather impatient that day, and before the members of the delegation had fairly started in, he suddenly closed the interview with this remark:

"Gentlemen, I am sorry to say that there are eight other applicants for that place, and they are all sicker'n your man."

Lincoln was constantly bothered by members of delegations of people who thought they knew all about running the war, but had no real knowledge of what was going on.

"How many men have the Confederates now in the field?" asked one of these bores one day.

"About one million two hundred thousand," replied the president

"Oh, my! Not so many as that, surely, Mr. Lincoln."

"They have fully twelve hundred thousand, no doubt of it. You see, all of our generals when they get whipped say the enemy outnumbered them from three or five to one, and I must believe them. We have four hundred thousand men in the field, and three times four makes twelve,—don't you see it? It is as plain to be seen as the nose on a man's face; and at the rate things are now going, with the great amount of speculation and the small crop of fighting, it will take a long time to overcome twelve hundred thousand rebels in arms."

Lincoln heartily disliked those boisterous people who were constantly deluging him with advice, and shouting at the tops of their voices whenever they appeared at the White House. "These noisy people create a great clamor," said he one day, in conversation with some personal friends, "and remind me, by the way, of a good story I heard out in Illinois while I was practising, or trying to practise, some law there. I will say, though, that I practised more law than I ever got paid for."

"A fellow who lived just out of town, on the bank of a large marsh, conceived a big idea in the money-making line. He took it to a prominent merchant, and began to develop his plans and specifications. 'There are at least ten million frogs in that marsh near me, an' I'll just arrest a couple of carloads of them and hand them over to you. You can send them to the big cities and make lots of money for both of us. Frogs' legs are great delicacies in the big towns, an' not very plentiful. It won't take me more'n two or three days to pick 'em. They make so much noise my family can't sleep, and by this deal I'll get rid of a nuisance and gather in some cash.'

"The merchant agreed to the proposition, promised the fellow he would pay him well for the two carloads. Two days passed, then three, and finally two weeks were gone before the fellow showed up again, carrying a small basket. He looked weary and 'done up,' and he wasn't talkative a bit. He threw the basket on the counter with the remark, 'There's your frogs.'

"'You haven't two carloads in that basket, have you?' inquired the merchant.

"'No,' was the reply, 'and there ain't no two carloads in all this blasted world.'

"'I thought you said there were at least ten million of 'em in that marsh near you, according to the noise they made,' observed the merchant. 'Your people couldn't sleep because of 'em.'

"'Well,' said the fellow, 'accordin' to the noise they made, there was, I thought, a hundred million of 'em, but when I had waded and swum that there marsh day and night fer two blessed weeks, I couldn't harvest but six. There's two or three left yet, an' the marsh is as noisy as it uster be. We haven't caught up on any of our lost sleep yet. Now, you can have these here six, an' I won't charge you a cent fer 'em.'

"'You can see by this little yarn,'" remarked the president, "that these boisterous people make too much noise in proportion to their numbers."

Letters of advice to the president overloaded the patient mes-

senger who regularly brought in the heavy bag containing White House mail. Most of these letters the president never saw. Once in a long time a letter came whose author knew that the thing which he proposed was absurd. One man from Tolona, Illinois, gave to the president a hearty laugh by his proposal to raise a regiment of cross-eyed men:

"I know enough cross-eyed men to fill up the regiment, and, by thunder, Mr. Lincoln, I am cross-eyed enough to be the colonel of it."

He proposed to arm his regiment with double-barreled guns, the barrels arranged to fire at different angles. He then would march his regiment along the river and clean up both banks at once.

Lincoln made no pretense of being a soldier, but he showed a good degree of military sagacity. When Hood's army had been scattered into fragments, after the battles of Franklin and Nashville, President Lincoln, elated by the defeat of what had so long been a menacing force on the borders of Tennessee, was reminded by its collapse of the fate of a savage dog belonging to one of his neighbors in the frontier settlements in which he lived in his youth. "The dog," he said, "was the terror of the neighborhood, and its owner, a churlish and quarrelsome fellow took pleasure in the brute's forcible attitude.

"Finally, all other means having failed to subdue the creature, a man loaded a lump of meat with a charge of powder, to which was attached a slow fuse; this was dropped where the dreaded dog would find it, and the animal gulped down the tempting bait.

"There was a dull rumbling, a muffled explosion, and fragments of the dog were seen flying in every direction. The grieved owner, picking up the shattered remains of his cruel favorite, said: 'He was a good dog, but as a dog, his days of usefulness are over.' Hood's army was a good army," said Lincoln, by way of comment, "and we were all afraid of it, but as an army, its usefulness is gone."

An officer, having had some trouble with General Sherman, and being very angry, presented himself before Mr. Lincoln, who was visiting the camp at City Point, and said, "Mr. President, I have a cause of grievance. This morning I went to General Sherman and he threatened to shoot me."

"Threatened to shoot you?" asked Mr. Lincoln. "Well, [in a stage whisper] if I were you I would keep away from him; if he threatens to shoot, I would not trust him, for I believe he would do it."

Lincoln showed great ingenuity in locating the incidents which he related. While he was on the circuit, he told stories of "a man I knew in Indiana," or "a woman who lived down in Egypt,"—that is, in southern Illinois. He was careful to place them far enough away to save the feelings of people near at hand, yet not too far to make them a part of his own experience. In this manner he worked over many old stories, and made them as good as new. In Washington, his stories were more frequently located in Illinois.

President Lincoln, in company with General Grant, was inspecting the Dutch Gap Canal at City Point.

"Grant, do you know what this reminds me of? Out in Springfield there was a blacksmith, who, not having much to do, took a piece of soft iron and attempted to weld it into an agricultural implement, but discovered that the iron would not hold out. Then he concluded it would make an ax, but having too little iron, attempted to make a claw-hammer. He decided after working a while that there was not enough iron left. Finally, becoming disgusted, he filled the forge full of coal and brought the iron to a white heat; then with his tongs he lifted it from the bed of coals, and thrusting it into a tub of water near by, exclaimed: 'Well, if I can't make anything else of you, I will make a fizzle, anyhow.'"

"I was afraid that was about what we had done with the Dutch Gap Canal," said General Grant.

When Governor Andrew Curtin of Pennsylvania, described

the terrible butchery at the battle of Fredericksburg, Mr. Lincoln was greatly distressed.

The governor regretted that his description had so sadly affected the president. He remarked: "I would give all I possess to know how to rescue you from this terrible war."

Lincoln's whole aspect suddenly changed, and he relieved his mind by telling a story.

"This reminds me, Governor," he said, "of an old farmer that I used to know, out in Illinois.

"He took it into his head to go into hog-raising. He sent out to Europe and imported the finest breed of hogs he could buy.

"The prize hog was put in a pen, and the farmer's two mischievous boys, James and John, were told to be sure not to let it out. But James, the worst of the two, let the brute out the next day. The hog went straight for the boys, and drove John up a tree, then the hog went for the seat of James' trousers, and the only way the boy could save himself was by holding on to the hog's tail.

"The hog would not give up his hunt, nor the boy his hold! After they had made a good many circles around the tree, the boy's courage began to give out, and he shouted to his brother, 'I say, John, come down, quick, and help me let go this hog!'

"Now, Governor, that is exactly my case. I wish some one would come and help me to let the hog go."

General Creswell called at the White House to see the president shortly before the latter's assassination. An old friend, serving in the Confederate ranks, had been captured by the Union troops and sent to prison. General Creswell had drawn an affidavit setting forth what he knew about the man, particularly mentioning extenuating circumstances.

Creswell found the president very happy. He was greeted with: "Creswell, old fellow, everything is bright this morning. The war is over. It has been a tough time, but we have lived it out,—or some of us have," and he dropped his voice a little

on the last clause of the sentence. "But it is over; we are going to have good times now, and a united country."

General Creswell told his story, read his affidavit, and said, "I know the man has acted like a fool, but he is my friend, and a good fellow; let him out; give him to me, and I will be responsible that he won't have anything more to do with the rebs."

"Creswell," replied Mr. Lincoln, "you make me think of a lot of young folks who once started out Maying. To reach their destination, they had to cross a shallow stream, and did so by means of an old flat-boat. When the time came to return, they found to their dismay that the old scow had disappeared. They were in sore trouble, and thought over all manner of devices for getting over the water, but without avail.

"After a time, one of the boys proposed that each fellow should pick up the girl he liked best and wade over with her. The masterly proposition was carried out, until all that were left upon the island was a little short chap and a great, long, gothic-built, elderly lady.

"Now, Creswell, you are trying to leave me in the same predicament. You fellows are all getting your own friends out of this scrape; and you will succeed in carrying off one after another, until nobody but Jeff Davis and myself will be left on the island, and then I won't know what to do. How should I feel? How should I look, lugging him over?

"I guess the way to avoid such an embarrassing situation is to let them all out at once."

Lincoln greatly enjoyed the effect of a little joke which he played now and then on people who thought he was about to confide to them some secret about military or naval movements. There was a certain naval expedition concerning which there was much anxiety, and more than one person called on Lincoln to learn its destination. "Can you keep a secret?" asked the president. "I'll tell you where it's gone; it's gone to sea!"

Colonel McClure had been in consultation with the president one day, about two weeks after Sherman's disappearance, and in this connection related this incident:

"I was leaving the room, and just as I reached the door the president turned around, and, with a merry twinkling of the eye, inquired, 'McClure, wouldn't you like to hear something from Sherman?'"

"The inquiry electrified me at the instant, as it seemed to imply that Lincoln had some information on the subject. I immediately answered, 'Yes, most of all, I should like to hear from Sherman.'

"To this President Lincoln answered, with a hearty laugh: 'Well, I'll be hanged if I wouldn't, myself.'"

While humorous songs delighted the president, he also loved to listen to patriotic airs and ballads containing sentiment. He was fond of hearing *The Sword of Bunker Hill*, *Ben Bolt*, and *The Lament of the Irish Emigrant*. His preference of the verses in the latter was this:

I'm lonely now, Mary,
 For the poor make no new friends;
 But, oh, they love the better still
 The few our Father sends!
 And you were all I had, Mary,
 My blessing and my pride;
 There's nothing left to care for now,
 Since my poor Mary died.

Lincoln was fond of the theater, and never, except in Washington, was he in a city where there was a theatrical performance every night. His official duties did not permit him to attend very often, and when he was able to go he enjoyed the play, whether comedy or tragedy. He had not sufficient experience to be a discriminating critic, and his tastes were elemental. He liked the jokes to be broad enough to be discoverable.

In Illinois, he was pleased when he could attend an entertainment of negro minstrels. The old-time minstrel show was a clean and wholesome frolic. Christy's Minstrels were nothing

less than an institution, and other shows took their key from Christy. For this troupe Stephen C. Foster wrote most of his one hundred seventy-five songs, some of them exquisitely tender, others jolly and gay.

The old-time minstrel show had a group of performers seated in a curve so that the interlocutor, who occupied the center chair, could talk with any performer, with the players of fiddles and banjos and guitars on his right and left, and especially with the two end-men, "Bones" and "Tambo," who were the chief conversationalists. There were sentimental songs and noisy choruses and merry dialogue and local jokes. There was the song about *Jim-along-Josey*:

T'ree or fo' possum, five or six coon,
Settin' on a pine-log singin' dis tune,
'Twas—
Hey, come-along, Jim-along Josey,
Hey come-along, Jim-along Joe.

There was one with a whirl and a jump:

Twist around, turn around, jump just so!
Every time you turn around you jump Jim Crow!

The phrase became so popular that when a person was startled, he was said to "jump Jim Crow" and the name has attached itself to the railway car for colored people. But in the beginning, it was just a catchy melody with a whirl and a jump.

There was nothing subtle or delicate about this kind of humor, but it was mirth without malice, fun without filth. In the hearty and boisterous laughter evoked by the dialogue and song and the buck-and-wing dancing there was relief from care, and nothing that left a bad taste in the mouth.

There has been some effort to learn whether Lincoln was in St. Louis on a night when Thackeray gave a reading there, and if so, whether Lincoln attended. Mr. Weik probably secured the correct information from a man who knew Lincoln, and who said, that if Lincoln was in town, and knew that Thackeray was

to lecture in one hall, and Rumsey's minstrels were to give a burnt-cork show in another, it would have been useless to look for Abraham Lincoln at the lecture.

Probably Lincoln never heard the genuine Christy singers. While he was in Chicago in the spring of 1860, trying the "Sand-bar case" he attended Rumsey and Newcomb's minstrels, and greatly enjoyed the evening. There, for the first time, he heard that "Ethiopian Walk-around," by D. D. Emmett, *Dixie*. Whitney says:

"It was then entirely new; and was the most extravagant minstrel performance I ever saw. Lincoln was perfectly 'taken' with it, and clapped his great hands, demanding an encore, louder than anyone. I never saw him so enthusiastic.*

Lincoln never ceased to enjoy *Dixie*. It was played at a White House serenade just after the surrender of Lee's army, and Lincoln made reference to it as having been captured from the Confederates, and being legitimately ours.

Lincoln enjoyed a story told concerning a son of President John Tyler, who went to the president of the Baltimore and Ohio railway and asked for a special train for the president, who had been invited to deliver an address in another city. The president of the railway was a Whig, and had no love for Tyler. "Our regular train is good enough," he answered curtly.

"But," said young Tyler, "you furnished a special train for the funeral of the late President Harrison."

To which the railway chief replied, "Tell President Tyler that under like conditions I shall be very glad to furnish a special train for him."

One of the humorists whom Lincoln greatly enjoyed was "Orpheus C. Kerr,"* or "Office Seeker" who wrote from intimate knowledge of Washington his then much enjoyed papers. To General Meigs Lincoln spoke of an incident which, he said, Orpheus C. Kerr would use to advantage, and he was surprised to know that Meigs had never heard of him. Lincoln said:

*Whitney's *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln*, p. 88.

"Why, have you never read his papers? They are in two volumes. Any one who has not read them is a heathen." He added that he enjoyed those that made fun of members of his Cabinet, but he thought that those members liked better the ones that made fun of him. Lincoln said that he did not think those that made fun of him were really as funny as those that joked about his Cabinet. Some members of the Cabinet were present when Lincoln, himself joking, made these remarks. Lincoln said he especially enjoyed an allegorical poem by this author which represented McClellan as a monkey preparing to fight a serpent, but afraid to fight until he had more tail. So he repeatedly called on Jove for more tail, which Jupiter gave to him, until the monkey was too much encumbered by his tail to move at all.

Henry J. Raymond, the editor of the *New York Times*, thus tells of Mr. Lincoln's fondness for the Nasby letters:

"It has been well said by a profound critic of Shakespeare, and it occurs to me as very appropriate in this connection, that 'the spirit which held the woe of Lear and the tragedy of *Hamlet* would have broken had it not also had the humor of the *Merry Wives of Windsor* and the merriment of the *Midsummer Night's Dream*.'

"This is as true of Mr. Lincoln as it was of Shakespeare. The capacity to tell and enjoy a good anecdote no doubt prolonged his life.

"The Saturday evening before he left Washington to go to the front, just previous to the capture of Richmond, I was with him from seven o'clock till nearly twelve. It had been one of his most trying days. The pressure of office-seekers was greater at this juncture than I ever knew it to be, and he was almost worn out.

"Among the callers that evening was a party composed of two senators, a representative, an ex-lieutenant-governor of a western state, and several private citizens. They had business of great importance, involving the necessity of the president's ex-

amination of voluminous documents. Pushing everything aside, he said to one of the party:

"Have you seen the Nasby papers?"

"No, I have not," was the reply; "who is Nasby?"

"There is a chap out in Ohio," returned the president, "who has been writing a series of letters in the newspapers over the signature of Petroleum V. Nasby. Some one sent me a pamphlet collection of them the other day. I am going to write to 'Petroleum' to come down here, and I intend to tell him if he will communicate his talent to me, I will swap places with him!"

"Thereupon he arose, went to a drawer in his desk, and, taking out the 'Letters,' sat down and read one to the company, finding in their enjoyment of it the temporary excitement and relief which another man would have found in a glass of wine. The instant he had ceased, the book was thrown aside, his countenance relapsed into its habitual serious expression, and the business was entered upon with the utmost earnestness."

Concerning Lincoln's love for the Nasby letters written by David R. Locke of the *Toledo Blade*, there is abundant testimony. These letters with their atrocious spelling were mostly dated at "Confederate X Roads which is in the State of Kentucky." Their author, the Reverend Petroleum Vesuvius Nasby, was alleged to be pastor of a congregation in that place. His pastoral duties however, occupied small place in his correspondence. He was a seeker after political honors from the local postmastership to the presidency. Lincoln read these letters as they appeared from week to week. When the first group of them was issued in pamphlet form he read and reread the letters both for his own edification and the instruction of his friends. It is interesting to find him reading them to the dignified Senator Charles Sumner. So impressed was the Massachusetts Senator with Lincoln's love of this literature that the Senator

*The real name of "Orpheus C. Kerr" was Robert H. Newell. He published one volume of sketches in 1862, and another in 1863. Both of those Lincoln read and enjoyed. A third volume was published later.

himself consented to write the introduction to a collected edition of the Nasby letters issued in 1872. Senator Sumner's story of Lincoln's love for this literature constitutes the closing portion of this introduction:

I had occasion to see President Lincoln very late in the evening of March 17, 1865. The interview was in the familiar room known as his office, and was also used for cabinet meetings. I did not take leave of him until sometime after midnight, and then the business was not entirely finished. As I rose, he said, "Come to me when I open shop in the morning; I will have the order written, and you shall see it." "When do you open shop?" said I. "At nine o'clock," he replied. At the hour named I was in the same room I had so recently left. Very soon the President entered, stepping quickly with the promised order in his hands which he at once read to me. It was to disapprove and annul the judgment and sentence of a court-martial in a case that had excited much feeling. While I was making an abstract for telegraph to the anxious parties, he broke into a quotation from Nasby. Finding me less at home than himself with his favorite humorist, he said pleasantly, "I must initiate you." And then he repeated with enthusiasm the message he had sent to the author:

"For the genius to write these things, I would gladly give up my office."

Rising from his seat, he opened a desk behind, and, taking from it a pamphlet collection of the letters already published read with infinite zest, in which his melancholy features grew bright. It was a delight to see him surrender so completely to the fascination. Finding that I listened, he read for more than twenty minutes, and was still proceeding, when it occurred to him that there must be many at the door waiting to see him on graver matters. Taking advantage of a pause, I rose, and, thanking him for the lesson of the morning, went away. Some thirty persons, including senators and representatives were in the ante-room as I passed out. Though with the president much during the intervening time before his death, this was the last business I transacted with him. A few days later he left Washington for City Point, in the James River, where he was at the surrender of Richmond. April 6, I joined him there. April 9,

the party returned to Washington. On the evening of April 14, the bullet of an assassin took his life. In this simple story, Abraham Lincoln introduces Nasby.

Lincoln's love for the writings of Artemus Ward was very great. He loved the autobiographical sketches by the proprietor of the "highly moral show" with which Artemus professed to be touring the country, and of his various adventures when en route. His "wax figgers" afforded him opportunity to discuss various historic characters. When the crowd pulled the hay out of the fat man, the palpable fraud which Artemus had been perpetrating caused the president to roar with appreciation. The kangaroo, "that amusin' little cuss," could be counted on now and then for a flying adventure, and Artemus had a "boy-constrictor" that was useful on occasion. But Artemus did not confine his discussions to the show business. He professed to have visited Washington and the White House, where he roundly lectured the office seekers for bothering Old Abe when they ought to have been in better business. He drove them out by threatening to turn his "boy-constrictor" in among them. When, according to this facetious narrative, Lincoln in gratitude asked the advice of Artemus about the composition of his Cabinet, Artemus advised him to select its members wholly from showmen—"Showmen are all honest; for particulars see small bills."

Artemus also journeyed to Richmond, according to these narratives, and interviewed Jefferson Davis, whom he scolded soundly for attempting to break up the Union. He opined "that it would have been ten dollars in Jeff's pocket if he had never been born." Meat was so scarce in the hotels in Richmond that Artemus forbore to order steak or roast; horses, cats and dogs, he averred, were substituting for those luxuries in the Richmond hotels. So Artemus ordered hash; then he knew just what he was getting.

Artemus was a patriot; he was determined to put down the rebellion if in the effort he sacrificed all his wife's relations. He was troubled for a time in Washington, to discover what the

initials M. C. stood for, at length he learned. They stood for the title "Miserable Cuss."

When Charles Brockden Browne began writing these letters for the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, he probably had little intention of going into military or political matters. He may or may not have known that the name he chose for himself, Artemus Ward, was, except for a slight variation in spelling, the name of a Revolutionary general.

Much of the quality which caused his humor to be most appreciated in its day was due to current interest in matters concerning which taste has changed and memory of events grown dim. But a student of the period of the Civil War would have no difficulty in understanding Lincoln's appreciation of this war-time humor. Artemus Ward may not have gone the full length of his generous offer in sacrificing all of his wife's relations to the putting down of the rebellion. But his broad wholesome humor together with his understanding of military and political conditions and his intelligent sympathy with Lincoln in the burdens he was bearing certainly contributed effectively to that result. He did help put down the rebellion.

CHAPTER XXX

MRS. LINCOLN

THE tomb at Oak Ridge received the mortal remains of Abraham Lincoln, and left his widow in her almost solitary grief. How alone she was, and how worse than useless was some of the advice she had, is pitifully evidenced in a book that betrayed her confidence and proclaimed to the public her aberrations and follies.* Not yet has the world been just to her. I should like, if I can, to give a fair and truthful picture of that much abused woman.

If the light that beats upon a throne is such as to reveal every sad frailty of him who occupies it, the light that glances upon and within the White House is still more cruelly searching. Not without reason has the presidency been declared a man-killing job. The bullet has killed three of our presidents; but these are not our only presidential murders. It is no part of the prerogative of this book to compile a list of them.

But if we are unintentionally cruel to our presidents, what shall be said of the manner in which we treat their wives? Who among them has escaped idle curiosity and even spiteful slander, from staid Martha Washington and gay Dolly Madison down to the second Mrs. Woodrow Wilson and Mrs. Warren C. Harding?

No woman who has occupied the White House has been more vulnerable to attack than Mary Todd Lincoln; and no one of them, unless possibly the wife of President Andrew Jackson, suffered such merciless slander. The time has come when it

**Behind the Scenes*, by Elizabeth Keckly.

should be possible to tell the truth and the whole truth concerning Mary Todd Lincoln.

Both by birth and breeding, Mary Todd Lincoln was a proud and ambitious woman. In her girlhood she was admired rather than loved; for though she had a generous nature, and on occasion could go to great lengths of devotion for those she liked, she had a quick wit and a sharp tongue.

She was affectionate, ardent, passionate, and to a hot temper she joined a stubborn will. She married Abraham Lincoln as deliberately as such a woman ever could do anything. She was a creature of impulse, but she had her choice. She selected Abraham Lincoln from among her many suitors for two reasons; he was likely to gratify her ambition, and she sincerely cared for him.

Their courtship was tempestuous. We ignore all disputable details; they quarreled; they were foredoomed to quarrel. After their marriage, they still quarreled. He annoyed her often, infuriated her sometimes, by his disregard of convention and his lack of appreciation of her feelings. He was thick-skinned and oblivious of minor discomforts; she was sensitive to a degree.

Usually he bore her outbursts of temper with good-natured imperturbability; it did Mary good to scold, and did not hurt him. If she continued to scold, he put on his hat and walked to the office or to a seat in the corner store, and returned serenely after the storm had blown over. But there were times (and this is a part of the story as yet untold), when even his thick skin wore through. Once in a long while his sluggish but vehement temper got the better of him; and when it did, he said and did things which afterward caused him bitter self-reproach.

Those do greatly err who say that Mary Todd married Abraham Lincoln out of spite or revenge, or that he married her solely out of ambition. The fact is, that, spite of all their quarrels, they cared for each other.

Lincoln was a man of great ambition. He wanted office, al-

ways wanted it; and when in office always wanted a higher office. Ambition was the main spring of his career. Mary Todd was quite as ambitious as her husband, and had quite as sound judgment as he with regard to the best way to realize their ambition. She knew practical ways of assisting him, and she employed those ways.

Those who represent the married life of the Lincolns as unbroken by disagreement and quarrel hold their opinions in the face, or in ignorance, of a large body of incontrovertible evidence. On the other hand, those who assume that Lincoln and his wife did nothing but quarrel, are even more in error. Congenial they certainly were not, and they made each other uncomfortable. She nagged him unmercifully, and made home a place where he could not be assured of comfort. That was well for him. He was a man too fond of ease to have been successful in political life if wedded to a woman who made an ideal home.

That Lincoln felt the lack of a quiet and happy home life is undeniable, but he felt it less than a more finely sensitive man would have done. To spend his week-ends in distant taverns, while other members of the bar packed their saddle-bags and went home, was less of a trial to Lincoln than it would have been to most of them. But in his own big, undemonstrative, imperturbable way, Lincoln loved his wife, and was enormously proud of her. No letters are preserved which he sent home while away in those early days, but his telegrams and despatches addressed to her in the absences of Mrs. Lincoln from Washington showed real solicitude and careful consideration. He was proud of her beauty, her wit. Like other big men who have little wives, he enjoyed "the long and short" of their matrimonial combination. Usually he spoke of her as "Mrs. Lincoln," but in his letters to Speed he called her by his pet name for her, "Mollie."

It has been charged that Mrs. Lincoln's political faith was very different from that of her husband. It is true that after the

death of Mr. Lincoln, she wrote letters of complaint in which she spoke of "the Republicans" as though she were not of them; but this had reference to personal grievances and apparent neglect. So far as I am aware no such letters exist for the period in which Lincoln was living. Her letters to her family in the years before the war, when the Republican Party was forming, and Mr. Lincoln was casting in his lot with them, show no lack of interest in his movements, but on the contrary display an active and intelligent support of him in all his plans. Thus she wrote to her sister in Kentucky on November 23, 1856:

Your husband, like some of the rest of ours, has a great taste for politics and has taken much interest in the late contest, which has resulted much as I expected, not as I hoped. Although Mr. Lincoln is or was a Fremont man, you must not include him with so many of those who belong to that party, an abolitionist. In principle he is far from it. All he desires is that slavery shall not be extended, let it remain where it is. My weak woman's heart was too southern in feeling to sympathize with any one but Fillmore. I have always been a great admirer of his—he made so good a President, and is so good a man, and feels the necessity of keeping the foreigners within bounds. If some of you Kentuckians had to deal with the Wild Irish as we housekeepers are sometimes called upon to do, the South would certainly elect Fillmore next time. The Democrats have been defeated in our state in their governor; so there is a crumb of comfort for each and all. What day is so dark that there is no ray of sunshine to penetrate the gloom? Now sit down, and write one of your agreeable missives, and do not wait for a return of each from a staid matron, and, moreover, the mother of three noisy boys.

Thus did Mrs. Lincoln write to her sister, Mrs. Ben Hardin Helm, just after the defeat of Frémont, wishing that the next president, to be elected presumably by the South, might be Fillmore. The South did not elect the next president, and the next president was not Fillmore. But the notable thing about this letter, and it is not the only such letter, is that Mrs. Lincoln wrote

to her sister, wife of a Democratic politician who later became a Confederate general, expressing her regret that the Democrats had won the national election, and, knowing that her sister would not share her feeling in this matter, taking to herself a compensating "crumb of comfort" in the defeat of the Democrats in Illinois. There was nothing spiteful or tantalizing or untactful in this letter; it was written in the best spirit of sisterly frankness; its candor is unmistakable, as is her loyalty to her husband's political principles.

At length the incredible thing occurred which Mary Todd Lincoln had always believed would happen, and she became the first lady of the land. It was a position for which she was not well fitted either by nature or by training, and the conditions of those times were such as to show her in her least favorable light. The truth was bad enough concerning her infirmities of temper and the strain which the new position put upon her, but not every one stopped at the truth.

More than once, as just after the battle of Bull Run, the family of the president was advised to leave Washington. Mrs. Lincoln was by nature a woman of great timidity; her courage was the courage of sheer will-power and moral conviction; but she refused to go; and her presence was an encouragement to her husband.

Lincoln did not know how to bear lightly his terrible load of responsibility. His wife contrived to invite old friends to meals at the White House, especially to breakfast. She laughed and joked with them as they talked of old days in Illinois. Mrs. Lincoln assumed a benevolent despotism over her husband, and compelled him to drive with her every afternoon. This afforded him a blessed relief, and one he would not have taken had her sway over him been less absolute.

Her attempts to lift the cloud of gloom that hung over the White House were not wholly successful. If she gave a reception, she was criticized for displaying joy at a time when the nation was suffering defeat upon the battle-field and sorrow in

its homes; if she did not give a reception, she was criticized for not doing so. Her social errors were noted, exaggerated, and made the subject of unbecoming mirth.

In the White House she displayed much want of tact. Her blundering outspokenness and disregard of diplomatic consideration were known and proclaimed throughout Washington and the nation. Her dress, which was extravagant rather than beautiful, her foibles and follies and inexperience, all were whispered in ridicule or shouted from the housetop in contempt.

Nor did the gossip stop with ridicule of her social errors. It was charged that she did not love her husband and was planning to elope with a Russian count. The hyenas of Washington, some of them in the pay of the Confederate Government, said things about her as false as they were foul. On the other hand, it was very generally charged that she was a Confederate spy; and the soldiers around the camp-fire joined her name in ribald song with that of Jefferson Davis.

Peace came at last, and there was mercifully granted to Abraham and Mary Lincoln a brief interval in which they were permitted to build castles in the air. Up to the time of the second election, they had always assumed that when they left the White House they would return to Springfield to live. Now there were opened before them longer vistas. They would see the second term of office through, and the wounds of the country healed; there would be a policy of forbearance and forgiveness and good will. The period of office which had begun under the cloud of war would end in the sunlight of peace. Then they would travel. They would go to California and see men digging out the gold that was to pay the national debt. They would take the boys and go to Europe. They would visit the Holy Land. They were no longer sure that they would return to Springfield; if their hearts pulled them back to their old home, well and good; but if otherwise, they would find a home where it might seem best. In the meantime there was Peace, and immediately before them was the work of rebuilding the desolate places and healing

the wounds which strife had caused. And under the stars and stripes there was not a single slave.

Mrs. Lincoln's mind in the months that followed went over and over the events of their last drive together on the afternoon preceding his assassination. In no one conversation did she tell all that she remembered, but she related it many times and to all her friends. Mr. Arnold thus records the story of that drive as Mrs. Lincoln related it to him.

After the Cabinet meeting he went to drive with Mrs. Lincoln, expressing a wish that no one should accompany them, and evidently desiring to converse alone with her. "Mary," said he, "we have had a hard time of it since we came to Washington, but the war is over, and with God's blessing we may hope for four years of peace and happiness, and then we will go back to Illinois and pass the rest of our lives in quiet." He spoke of his old Springfield home, and recollections of his early days, his little brown cottage, the law office, the court room, the green bag for his briefs and law papers, his adventures when riding the circuit, came thronging back to him. The tension under which he had for so long been kept was removed, and he was like a boy out of school. "We have laid by," said he to his wife, "some money, and during this term we will try and save up more, but shall not have enough to support us. We will go back to Illinois, and I will open a law-office at Springfield or Chicago, and practice law, and at least do enough to help give us a livelihood." Such were the dreams, the day-dreams of Lincoln, the last day of his life. In imagination he was again in his prairie home, among his law books, and in the courts with his old friends. A picture of a prairie farm on the banks of the Sangamon or the Rock River rose before him, and once more the plough and the axe were to become as familiar to his hands as in the days of his youth.*

These were the castles which together they built in the air. So far as we know the story of these last days, no cloud came between Abraham and Mary Lincoln and their vision of hope. At evening time there was light.

*Arnold: *Life of Lincoln*, pp. 429-430.

Then came the assassin's bullet, and the dark.

The widow of Abraham Lincoln never recovered from the night of the tragedy at Ford's Theater. Her mind, none too well balanced at the best, became less and less stable. It is unfortunately true that her unreasonableness did not begin with her husband's assassination. Long before this she had manifested erratic tendencies. Readers of General Badeau's *Grant in Peace* will find abundant evidence of mental traits which must have been a severe trial to her husband. After every allowance has been made for prejudice and possible exaggeration, the picture which Badeau draws is a painfully convincing and unattractive one. One may hear from people who knew her, incidents showing that even in her young womanhood she was capable of outbursts of ungovernable rage. I have heard many of these, and some of them I believe; indeed, I do not care to deny any of them.*

Mary Lincoln returned to Illinois, and lived in Chicago for a time, at 372 West Washington Street between Elizabeth and Ann, in one of the marble front houses then in vogue. There she sat in the ashes of her hopes, and brooded and raved amid the unpaid bills of the New York merchants from whom she had foolishly bought more silks than she could ever hope to wear. There little Tad died, July 15, 1871. He had never been a very strong boy, and had an impediment in his speech; and his mother's heart had clung to him with especial tenderness.

In November, 1866, eighteen months after the death of her husband, Herndon shamed her widowhood by proclaiming that Lincoln loved Ann Rutledge and never loved his wife. This act of Herndon's was the less commendable because he had but recently written to her, and she had met him by appointment in the St. Nicholas Hotel in Springfield, on one of her surreptitious

*If any future biographer of Lincoln shall present other evidence, taken from an important document whose use is now forbidden for any purpose derogatory to the character of Mrs. Lincoln, I suppose myself to be familiar with that document; and while observing, as I am in honor bound to do, the conditions under which it is permitted to be read, I have taken its content fully into account in my estimate of Mary Lincoln.

visits to her husband's grave, and had talked with him at length and in kindness, telling him many incidents of value to him for the purpose of his proposed book about her husband. That was in September, 1866. The following month, Herndon made his visit to John McNamar; and in November he delivered his lecture on Ann Rutledge. Only about a dozen people came out to hear him, and the reception accorded the lecture and the severity expressed in the discussion that followed were so unfavorable that Herndon never delivered it again. But the widow of the president of the United States was thus publicly proclaimed to have been unloved by the father of her children; and the country and world began to shed tears at the grave of Ann Rutledge. That young woman deserved the affectionate remembrance belonging to a virtuous prairie maiden; but what of the two men who told her story as a slur upon the widow of Abraham Lincoln?

Some years ago I was in Springfield at a time when the General Assembly of Illinois by vote took adjournment for a half-day and motored over to New Salem where there were speeches and a picnic dinner and the laying of a wreath upon the grave of Ann Rutledge. That evening was spent in the home of a niece of Mrs. Lincoln, a woman of culture and refinement who is no longer living. She had read in the evening paper a full account of the day's performance, and was hurt and indignant. She said:

"Mrs. Lincoln's nieces and her other relatives have no occasion to deny that Mr. Lincoln had a youthful sweetheart; most men have that experience. Nor do they deny that Ann Rutledge was a worthy young woman; but no one in Springfield ever heard of her until Herndon delivered his cruel lecture declaring that Lincoln never loved his wife. We who were with Mrs. Lincoln in those days, and who know the incurable wound which this stab gave to her already broken heart, must be pardoned if we are less enthusiastic than the world at large appears to be over the object of Lincoln's youthful affection. It is hard for

us to forgive the neglect and slander which thereby undeservedly came to Mary Todd Lincoln."

I have repeatedly served for a day or a week at a time as chaplain of one or the other House of the Illinois General Assembly. I have learned—if I did not already know—that the chaplain is not permitted to address the House, but is expected to direct his words to Almighty God. I therefore have never felt entitled to introduce a motion in the Legislature of the sovereign state of Illinois. If at any future time it should become my privilege thus to propose an item of business or to vote upon a pending measure, I would interpose no objection to any plan to visit New Salem or to pay deserved honor to the memory of Ann Rutledge. But I might venture to suggest that the General Assembly, on its return from New Salem, turn aside from the main highway that leads to the comfort of the Springfield hotels, and pause for a reverent moment at Oakwood Cemetery and drop a tear and lay a wreath upon the grave of Mary Todd Lincoln.

At present there would appear no probability that I shall have opportunity to make such a motion upon the floor of either House of the Illinois General Assembly. I may, therefore, use such privilege as is mine in addressing the readers of this book, and suggest that they do not permit their just and proper regard for Ann Rutledge to add even though unintentionally to the humiliation that has attached itself to the memory of Abraham Lincoln's wedded wife.

As a part of the preparation for this work I went to the office of the court of Cook County and asked for the papers relating to the trial of Mary Todd Lincoln for insanity. A preliminary search failed to disclose the record. The index contained no clue to such a case. The oldest clerks were called, and they knew nothing about it and were disposed to be incredulous. They found the record, more by special providence than otherwise, and so far as the office knew, no one had ever found those papers since they had been put away.

So far as the records show, and by reading between the lines,

the sad thing was done as decently and with as much dignity as possible. The complaining witness was, of necessity, one who stood very near to Mrs. Lincoln, her own son Robert T. Lincoln. The jury was composed of twelve as prominent men as Chicago had at that time. It would appear that everything was done that legally could be done to carry out what was deemed necessary, with as little publicity and with as much regard for propriety as possible. No docket number appears to have been given to the case, and the loose papers were conveniently lost or mislaid. But the court record is there, with the names of judge and jurors; and they are of such character as to forbid the suspicion that they acted hastily or through prejudice. There is also a transcript of the evidence, and it leaves no reasonable doubt. Mary Lincoln was found insane, and a fit subject for confinement in one of the state hospitals for the insane in the state of Illinois. She was not taken to a state institution, but to a private asylum at Batavia, Illinois, where, after a little more than a year, she was declared cured. Another jury found her "restored to reason." The date of her first trial at which she was pronounced insane was May 19, 1875; the second which resulted in her release was on June 15, 1876. That she was indeed insane would seem past dispute; that she was restored to reason is far less certain.

Mary Lincoln went abroad. During her exile, or at least a part of it, her son did not know where she was. She returned to America in October, 1880. The *New York Sun* told this story of her arrival in the land where she had been hardly less than a queen:

When the *Amerique* reached New York a throng was assembled on the dock and a greater throng was in the street outside the gates. During the tedious process of working the ship into her dock, there was a great crush in that part of the vessel where the gang-plank was to be swung. Among the passengers who were here gathered was an aged lady. She was dressed plainly. Her face was furrowed and her hair was streaked with white.

This was the widow of Abraham Lincoln. She was almost unnoticed. She had come alone across the ocean, but a nephew met her at quarantine. She had spent the last four years in the south of France. When the gang-plank was swung aboard, Mme. Bernhardt and her companions, including Mme. Columbier of the troupe, were the first to descend. The fellow voyagers of the actress pressed upon her to bid her adieu, and a cheer was raised which turned her head and provoked an astonished smile as she stepped upon the wharf. The gates were besieged, and there was some difficulty on bringing the carriage, which was to convey the actress to the hotel. She temporarily waited in the freight-office at the entrance to the wharf. Mrs. Lincoln, leaning upon the arm of her nephew, walked toward the gate. A policeman touched the aged lady on the shoulder, and bade her stand back. She retreated with her nephew into the line of spectators, while Manager Abbey's carriage was slowly brought in. Mme. Bernhardt was handed into the carriage which made its way out through a mass of struggling longshoremen and idlers who pressed about it, and stared in at the open windows. After it, went out the others who had been passengers on the *Amerique*, Mrs. Lincoln among the rest.

This is a story to bring tears to the eyes and rouse the soul to righteous indignation. And there is good reason to believe that it is literally true.

Mrs. Lincoln returned to Springfield, and to the home of her sister, Mrs. Edwards. It was the home in which she had first met Abraham Lincoln, and the home in which they were married.

The days were mercifully shortened. She died of paralysis on July 16, 1882. The attending physician made a post-mortem examination, and issued a statement that for years she had been the victim of a cerebral disease. This ought to have been a sufficient explanation of all that needed to be explained of her violence of temper and her unfortunate words and doings.

This is the statement of her physician, Doctor Thomas W. Dresser:

In the late years of her life, certain mental peculiarities were developed which finally culminated in a slight apoplexy, produc-

ing paralysis, of which she died. Among the peculiarities alluded to, one of the most singular was the habit she had during the last year or so of her life of immuring herself in a perfectly dark room, and, for light, using a small candle light, even when the sun was shining bright out of doors. No urging would induce her to go out into the fresh air. Another peculiarity was the accumulation of large quantities of silks and dress goods in trunks and by the cart-load, which she never used and which accumulated until it was really feared that the floor of the store room would give way. She was bright and sparkling in conversation, and her memory remained singularly good up to the very close of her life. Her face was animated and pleasing; and to me she was always an interesting woman; and while the whole world was finding fault with her temper and disposition, it was clear to me that the trouble was really a cerebral disease.

Mrs. Lincoln was a sadly abused woman. After all has been said that may truthfully be said about her unhappy disposition, three facts seem true beyond any reasonable question.

The first of these is that Abraham Lincoln loved his wife. There is no adequate evidence either that Lincoln loved Ann Rutledge so devoutly as to be incapable of loving another woman, or that the demonstrations of Mrs. Lincoln's vehement nature destroyed his affection for the mother of his children. While she was often a trial to him, and he as frequently a trial to her, he was proud of her, exhibited a tender solicitude for her comfort, and in many ways manifested a sincere affection for her.

The second truth is that Mary Lincoln loved her husband. If she had not loved him there was no need of her marrying him, for many men sought her hand when she was at liberty to choose among the most brilliant men of Springfield. While he offended her by his lack of polish and his ignorance of social usage, he still realized in large measure her ambitious dreams of what her husband might be, and the position to which his success would and did evidently elevate her.

The third truth is that Mrs. Lincoln was loyal to the nation. She was exposed to constant suspicion and was made the object

of cruel calumny. There is no shred of direct evidence of any disloyal word or act upon her part. Most of her blood relations were on the side of the Confederacy. Her brothers were Confederate officers. Her sisters were the wives of Confederate soldiers. Her heart must have been torn in her divided personal sympathies; but through it all there is one continuous line of testimony unbroken by any credible record of any disloyal word or treasonable act. She deserves very high commendation for a loyalty which under very trying circumstances she unfalteringly maintained.

CHAPTER XXXI

MR. LINCOLN

IN THE several places associated with the life-work of Lincoln there still remain small and diminishing groups of those who remember to have met him or to have heard him speak. In every such place visited by the author in the years in which this book has been in preparation, it has been his endeavor to search out these men and women and to hear from their own lips what they remember about Lincoln. Extensive correspondence has supplemented this method of inquiry, and I suppose myself to be personally acquainted with no inconsiderable fraction of the total number of men and women now living who knew Abraham Lincoln. A somewhat recent visit to Bloomington brought together, for conference with me, the entire group of men now living who remember to have heard Abraham Lincoln's lost speech. A large meeting held both morning and afternoon with a picnic dinner between, brought to the churchyard where Thomas and Sally Lincoln are buried, practically all the people who remember Lincoln's father and Lincoln's last visit to his father's grave. Anniversary celebrations of the Lincoln and Douglas debates have gathered to these seven cities the people who were present in each of them at these battles of the giants. Innumerable have been my visits to Springfield, in which city less than fifty people now living can be said to remember Abraham Lincoln. This, among other things, impressed me as I moved among the men who had really known Lincoln. They did not speak of him as "President Lincoln," nor as "Abraham Lincoln," much less did they use that offensive affectation of familiarity and call him

"Abe Lincoln." They had not learned the simple tribute which the world pays to its supremely great men, in dropping all titles and given names and referring to them simply as "Napoleon," "Gladstone," or "Washington"; they did not call him "Lincoln." In general they referred to him as "Mr. Lincoln."

There are titles enough by which we might call him. He held a commission in the army and might have been called Captain Lincoln. He received from a reputable college and later from a great university, the title of Doctor of Laws, and it would be legitimate to call him Doctor Lincoln. The free courtesy of the courts and the fact that occasionally he sat upon the bench, would have given to many a lesser man the title, Judge Lincoln. We may, and sometimes we must, speak of him as President Lincoln. But "the captains and the kings depart" and with them go captaincies and kingships. Ultimately, a man must stand and answer to his own name without titles and submit to an estimate of his naked personality as it presents itself to the judgment of posterity. Stripping away all titles, save only that which his neighbors in affectionate and dignified courtesy bestow upon him, let us endeavor in this closing chapter to discover what manner of man was Mr. Lincoln.

I. LINCOLN'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE

Few faces are more familiar than that of Abraham Lincoln. His countenance looks down on us from the walls of homes, schools, and public buildings. His full-length figure towers in bronze above several American towns, and a few of the cities of Europe. But how did he really look?

Certainly he was not in appearance an insignificant man. He has been described as ungainly and awkward, but no one ever described him as contemptible. There was that about him which led men everywhere to take notice of him. He could not conveniently be hid. Men might hate Lincoln, but they could not well ignore him. To this day, he may be held up to ridicule, and

it is not difficult to find in him material that lends itself to misrepresentation, but he can not well be overlooked. There is, there always was, in Lincoln, something that called for comment and possibly for explanation.

We possess a very large body of material that enables us to judge of the personal appearance of Lincoln. He emerged into prominence as the daguerreotype was coming into common use. Many photographers desired to make pictures of him, and Lincoln was not averse to having his picture taken. More than a hundred authentic and original photographs exist, showing his appearance from early in his career in Springfield to a few days before his death.

We have also oil portraits in considerable number. Soon after Lincoln's election, artists flocked to Springfield. They set up their easels in the vacant Legislative Hall of the old Capitol, and Lincoln was accustomed to sit for perhaps an hour each morning as they worked, reading his mail as he posed for them. Most, if not all, of these portraits are preserved. Some of them have merit and all of them have historic interest.

Of portraits after he became president, we have one in some respects the most interesting of all, and surrounded by remarkable associations, that of Frank B. Carpenter, made for and preserved in his notable historical painting. The likeness is preserved in the detail portrait and in the painting of *The Signing of the Emancipation Proclamation*. The events which accompanied the making of this portrait are recorded in Carpenter's book, *Six Months in the White House*.

We are peculiarly fortunate in possessing the life-mask of Lincoln as well as the casts of his hands, the face made in Chicago by Leonard Volk, in the spring before Lincoln's nomination for the presidency, the hands made in Springfield by the same sculptor, within a week after Lincoln's nomination. Volk was not a great artist, and he valued these casts for the sake of a statue which he made and which possessed no considerable merit. But the casts were well made; and they preserve to all coming time

not simply the bony structure of the hands and head, but the living lineaments of Abraham Lincoln. To this undoubtedly authentic record of his features and his hands must every sculptor and artist refer.

Down to the time of Mr. Lincoln's election to the presidency, he was clean-shaven. His decision to wear a beard caused widespread regret; for the beard added little that was decorative, and did not conceal the lower lip which was Lincoln's least attractive feature, while it hid a well modeled chin, and a jaw that was at once kind and firm.

People misjudged Lincoln who set him down as a clown or a simple rustic. A second and more careful look at him showed elements of dignity and nobility. Lincoln was great and capable of looking great. His portrait as we have become familiar with it is the portrait of a great man. Of him we could almost say, as the Duke of Wellington said after he had seen Webster:

"Sir, no man could be as great as Daniel Webster looked."

It is said that no man attains to distinction in public life who is not easily caricatured. The man who is really great must emphasize some great quality, or group of qualities, to the dangerous margin of exaggeration. Lincoln was easily caricatured; how gleefully the newspaper artists of the time availed themselves of his peculiarities, the files of illustrated journals both in America and in England testify.

Lincoln was a tall man. In any company his height made him conspicuous. This quality he accentuated by the long black coat and tall stiff hat which he habitually wore. He recognized the value of his own physical stature.

In his eleventh year that remarkable and rapid growth became noticeable. It was accompanied by a change in his manner and habit of thought. He passed from childhood into adolescence with unusual rapidity, and became shy and timid in the presence of women and even of men. It was almost the last thing he ever did rapidly. By the close of his seventeenth year he had reached a stature which he proudly announced as six feet four inches. He

was loose jointed and sometimes sagged down to less than his proper height. Leonard Volk, the sculptor, measuring him without his boots, pronounced his height a little over six feet and one inch. The undertaker who prepared his coffin found that he could use the measurements suitable to a large man six feet in height. Lincoln could seldom meet a tall man without proposing that they measure heights by standing back to back. Very seldom did he meet a man as tall as himself.

Lincoln was thin, sinewy and raw-boned. He was narrow across the shoulders. His usual weight was about one hundred and eighty pounds. Physically he was a very powerful man. He could lift four hundred pounds with ease, and in one case was known to have lifted six hundred pounds.

Lincoln's arms and legs were abnormally long. When sitting on a chair he appeared no taller than other men. It was only when he stood that he rose above them. He stood with his feet parallel; his toes did not turn out. When he walked he did not rise upon his toes but lifted his whole foot at once and put it down all at one time, not landing first upon the heel. A stranger seeing his walk might easily have gotten the impression of cunning and shrewdness in his gait, but his was the walk of firmness and caution.

Gaunt and awkward as he was, there was a certain symmetry in his ungainliness. He was a homely man, but not ugly or repulsive. There was, indeed, a kind of Herculean majesty in his gigantic, powerful figure, dominated as it was by a well poised head that displayed kindly and kindling eyes. He possessed a bearing marked at once by self-confidence and vigor.

Dwarfs are notoriously ill-natured; they have a constant feeling that nature has cheated them out of certain inches of stature which they are compelled to make good by self-assertion. Their life is one long protest against the world's temptation to ignore them. Giants, on the other hand, are habitually genial. They do not need to fight for recognition. Lincoln had the mental security, the complacent good-nature, which are native in a tall man.

That eminent psychologist, Doctor G. Stanley Hall, in a letter to the author, said:

The longer I live, the more importance I attach to physical traits. Lincoln's height, long limbs, rough exterior and frequent feeling of awkwardness, must have made him realize very early that to succeed in life he must cultivate intrinsic mental or moral traits which it is so hard for a handsome man or woman to excel in. Hence he compensated by trying to develop intellectual distinction. The mere factor of height and physical strength gives a man, even in civilized life, a certain superiority of which he and others are conscious. If Lincoln had been a little man, he would have been a very different one.

II. THE MIND OF LINCOLN

The study of the human intellect has passed through certain well-marked periods in the last half-century. In Lincoln's day phrenology was as popular as psychology is now. Those who attempted to analyze individual character studied the shape of the brain, believing themselves to be able to locate the different "organs" within it, by which the mind disclosed its various aptitudes. Phrenology is now an exploded science. Our present-day methods in psychology may one day be as obsolete as phrenology now appears to be. Many students when Lincoln was living or soon after he was dead attempted to account for him by the contour of his brain. Such methods would require extensive modification in the light of our present-day knowledge.

The study of psychology as conducted in colleges forty years ago considered the human mind as comprising intellect, sensibility and will. These were called "faculties." Memory and conscience were also sometimes spoken of as if they had their seat in some distinct portion of the mind. Faithful study of the phenomena of consciousness resulted in discarding the theory of faculties. The human mind came to be considered as a unit, in which perception and emotion and volition worked together.

Still another day has dawned, however. It is now clearly per-

ceived that there is an ancient and primitive part of the brain common to all vertebrates. In this part of the brain the emotions have their seat. It is now held that the cerebral hemispheres are virtually a new brain. This new brain is not needed for emotion; a cat whose cerebral hemispheres are removed will snarl and show erection of its hairs quite as naturally as does a cat on which no operation has been performed.

It has been discovered that the ductless glands have an extraordinary influence upon behavior. There must have been a mighty stimulant of the pituitary gland in Abraham Lincoln just as he was emerging into adolescence. It would be an interesting and perhaps not a wholly unprofitable exercise for some psychologist to trace Lincoln's development in the light of such knowledge as we now have obtained concerning the glandular influences that regulate personality.

This we now know, that in the study of criminal tendency, it makes a difference in the hopefulness of the outcome whether a wayward boy is intellectually a criminal, or emotionally a criminal. We shall not return to the old psychology with its division of the mind into faculties, neither shall we be able to consider the mind so completely a unit as we once were disposed to think. The human mind has been described as a more or less disorderly attic, having in it some things that we have placed there, and many heirlooms and cast-off articles which we discover when we least expect and sometimes least desire them.

Not to all his associates did Abraham Lincoln appear to have a mind of unusual character. There were those among his acquaintances, including some who called themselves his friends, who believed his mind to be of mediocre quality, and who held that whatever there was about it that was distinctive contained nothing of which Lincoln had any occasion to be proud. Not a few men who knew Lincoln believed that his most important characteristic, as it related to his success in life, was a kind of cleverness which they described as "low cunning." Lincoln was secretive, Lincoln was shrewd. Certain people who thought

they knew him spoke of him with his shrewdness and his love of humor as "a low, cunning clown." Not thus easily can we classify his mentality.

Lincoln's mind was deliberate, patient, capable of sustained effort and concentration. He had ability to reason from cause to effect. He possessed a clear discernment of power of motive. He had an understanding of the minds of men. His mental processes were slow but accurate, and he was quick to respond to stimuli in conversation or discussion. For a man so slow in his mental processes he was surprisingly quick in repartee. He shrank from the necessity of important decisions, yet when impelled by a sense of need or duty, he made his decisions with precision and with amazing firmness and courage. When he was certain in his judgment, it was exceeding difficult to move him. He was capable of resisting strong pressure. When he did not know what to do, he did not do anything. But when he decided he was inflexible.

But for all Lincoln's power of judgment, and his ability to reason, he held, in common with all great men, large confidence in his intuitions.

Every one knew that Lincoln was gentle and tender-hearted. He could not bear to see oppression in any form. He could not endure the thought of the infliction of needless pain. He was so kindly, so considerate, so patient, few people knew how capable he was of righteous indignation. Yet Lincoln had a mighty temper. He seldom lost control of it, but when he exhibited any outbreak of passion, it was not a thing to be lightly faced. Now and then a political opponent provoked him to wrath. Neither he nor those who heard Lincoln's treatment of him could ever forget the scourging that Lincoln would administer. One still may hear how he turned upon George Forquer with a sally as sharp as the point of the new lightning rod which Forquer had erected above his home, to protect him from the righteous wrath of an offended God for changing his politics simultaneously with his receiving a political appointment. The

"skinning of Thomas" is an extreme instance of Lincoln's severity that drove his antagonist to tears, and caused Lincoln himself to feel that he had gone too far. Seldom did Lincoln's temper break away from the leash of his control, but when it did Lincoln was anything but a vacillating and feeble antagonist.

If it were necessary, illustrations might be multiplied of Lincoln's capacity for mighty wrath. Like his father, Thomas Lincoln, he was slow to anger, but like all truly great men he could be indignant when it was necessary, and in general, his periods of anger were well chosen. He was angry when he had need to be angry. The fact that he could and did become genuinely indignant is evidence that Lincoln was the kind of man he ought to have been.

Lincoln declared that he did not claim to have controlled events, but that he had been controlled by them. He spoke in part truly, but that was not the whole truth. In a very large sense he did control events, and his control was that of a man who trusted his own intellectual judgments and was capable of compelling other men to accept them, and approve them.

Lincoln possessed a mind capable of indefinite growth. Essentially one with the people among whom he was born and with whom he spent the years of his boyhood and youth, he early displayed a capacity for development that carried him beyond the horizon and above the level of the life of his associates. This he accomplished without at any point breaking his association with them. His root remained in the soil of his associations; but he grew until the terminal bud of his ideal was far above his associations.

He learned by his disappointments. Peter the Great is said to have accepted his early defeats in battle with a kind of glee—"They are teaching me how to fight," he is reported to have said. Lincoln fulfilled in his own career the old Latin proverb that it is lawful to learn from the enemy. He was educated by his defeats. After he suffered humiliation at the hands of Stanton in the Reaper case, he returned from Cincinnati to Illinois "to

study law." He had learned something from a cruel disappointment, and he did not fail to make use of what he had learned. He returned from his one term in Congress, and mastered Euclid. He disciplined himself through his disappointments. Also, he grew through his successes. They increased his self-confidence, without spoiling him with vanity. Thus disciplined by both failure and success, Lincoln grew mentally, and he was growing to the very end of his life. His mind was a growing, a retentive, a noble, a truly great mind.

A sure test of Lincoln's intellectual processes is afforded by his literary style. The free use of words is no assurance of the ability to think. But Lincoln's clear, clean-cut, accurate and transparent use of English is the indubitable evidence of a mind working with precision, with conviction and with authority. Only a mind strong and clear and logical and well disciplined could have expressed itself as Lincoln's did in pure, accurate and forceful language.

Abraham Lincoln possessed a great mind. Born in the midst of penury, and destitute not only of educational advantages but of incentive to study, he obtained by force of will and strength of mental power a mind disciplined and of commanding ability.

He had a logical mind. He wanted, as he said, to be able to bound his subject, north, south, east and west. He had a fondness for mechanics which he transferred to his mental processes; he insisted on knowing the connections of truths, their causes and effects. He would be content with nothing short of truth.

Where he inherited this power and aptitude has given rise to much discussion. From his mother, as he believed, he inherited his power of analysis, his intellectual alertness, his gift of logic. But this is only a political answer.

In his earlier environment there was, as he said, "absolutely nothing" to stimulate within him the love of learning; yet the love of learning was strong within him. Much did he owe to solitude, and the power of reflection. Yet his was a nature strongly social; and much that was inherent in him could not

have been evoked except in association and competition with other men.

It is not to be wondered at that such attempts as have been made to trace Lincoln's powers through his converging lines of ancestry have been so clumsy and futile. The requisite material has not been available, and what little has been at hand has not been explored in a scientific spirit. The only group of his relations that has been investigated with anything approaching thoroughness has been certain of the Hanks families, and the less said about these investigations the better. They have not furthered reliable knowledge, and in the main have perverted truth. As already stated, the largest present group of blood relations of Lincoln are the Sparrows, descendants, some of them through several lines, from his grandmother, Lucy Hanks. But these add their evidence to the maternal and not the paternal side. As yet we have quite inadequate material for an explanation of Abraham Lincoln by heredity. From whom did Abraham Lincoln inherit his mind?

Thomas Lincoln, certainly, was no such intellectual giant as his son; and who among the Hankses could have fathered or mothered such a mind as that of Lincoln?

It has been confidently asserted that Abraham Lincoln did not have in him one drop of Lincoln blood; and that he betrayed this fact in his personal appearance, bearing a marked resemblance to the Hanks family, which was a family of tall men.* Did he also resemble the Lincolns? Most biographers have traced resemblance or difference on the paternal side no farther than to his father. The extent to which he resembled Thomas Lincoln has already been commented upon. Abraham Lincoln appears to have inherited quite as much from his father, Thomas Lincoln, as his son, Robert Todd Lincoln, inherited from him. That Lincoln resembled his mother's family, the Hankses, is undisputed; but it is not at all certain that this re-

*For a complete, and as I believe a final discussion of this question, I refer to my book *The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln*.

semblance was more pronounced than that which he bore to the Lincoln side. There was more opportunity of comparison between him and the Hankses than between him and the Lincolns. When Thomas Lincoln, about 1802, removed from Washington County to Hardin County, Kentucky, he left the Lincoln family permanently behind. Members of the Hanks family, on the other hand, lived near him in Kentucky, followed him to Indiana and accompanied him to Illinois, where John Hanks was already located. At no time until his removal to Washington was Abraham Lincoln very far removed from representatives of his mother's family; but in all his life he appears to have met scarcely any of his father's relatives. Evidence is not lacking, however, that he was a thorough Lincoln, even in those very particulars that have been most confidently enumerated as belonging to the Hankses.

A striking illustration of this fact is found in the diary of John Hay in the year 1867 after his return from Washington to Illinois, and before his appointment to diplomatic service. Of a railroad journey in that state he left the following contemporary record:

'Rode to Carthage in the same seat with Robert Lincoln, a second cousin of the late President. He is forty-one years old, looks much older. The same eyes and hair the President had—the same tall stature and shambling gait less exaggerated; a rather rough farmer-looking man. Drinks hard, chews ravenously. He says the family is about run out. "We are not a very marrying set." He is dying of consumption, he said very coolly. There was something startling in the resemblance of the straight thicket of hair, and the grey, cavernous eyes framed in black brows and lashes. He was a pioneer of our country. Knew my father since long years. Brought a load of wheat to Gould & Miller in 1842 with ox team; got \$90 in gold for it. Told me that in 1860 he had talked with "Abe" about assassination. Abe said, "I never injured anybody; No one is going to hurt me." He says he was invited by "Abe" to go to Washington at the time of the inauguration, but declined, thinking it dangerous—a

naivete of statement I thought would have been impossible out of the west.*

Mr. Hay was not writing with any thought of putting on record a piece of evidence regarding the paternity of Lincoln. He was simply recording the spontaneous impression which one received who had known Abraham Lincoln intimately, on meeting one of Lincoln's near relatives.

It has been my privilege to extend my study of Lincoln's antecedents much farther than Mr. Hay found opportunity to do, and to give some especial attention to the family group in which he discovered this striking resemblance. The conclusion is ineluctable; Abraham Lincoln was in very marked degree a Lincoln, even more than he was a Hanks. This fact does not wholly account for him; no great man can be accounted for. Thomas Carlyle had his scornful word concerning biographers who "do what they call account for" men of heroic mold. But it establishes Lincoln's place in the Lincoln family. In his personal appearance, movements of body and habits of thought, Abraham Lincoln was thoroughly a Lincoln.

The largest group of his blood relations on the Lincoln side are the descendants of Mordecai Lincoln, President Abraham Lincoln's uncle. These came to Illinois about a year before Thomas Lincoln migrated to Indiana, and made their home in Hancock County. There Mordecai Lincoln died in the winter of the deep snow, 1830. I have visited his descendants and have obtained not only facts and traditions and family records, but a considerable quantity of manuscript that comes direct from the Lincolns of the first generation in Illinois. Among these papers are many letters, accounts and essays of the second Mordecai Lincoln, first cousin of Abraham Lincoln. His handwriting is strikingly like that of his cousin Abraham, and his mental traits are arrestingly similar. It is little wonder that John Hay was impressed by the startling resemblance of one of these cousins,

*William Roscoe Thayer: *Life of John Hay*, i, p. 279.

one degree more remote, to "the great, dead man." These Lincolns resembled Abraham Lincoln not only in stature, color of hair, eyes, gait and manner of speech, but, what is more striking, they possessed and recognized as a family trait the moods to which the president was all his life subject. They went from boisterous mirth to the depths of despair without any visible occasion. They had what they called "the Lincoln horrors." None of them ever went insane, but all of them, the men even more than the women, were subject to violent transitions from one mood to another.

Lincoln's superstition, his fatalism, his belief in dreams and signs and portents was more than a family inheritance; it belonged to his environment. But certain mental predispositions appear to have been particularly characteristic of his family. Lincoln believed that he would die a violent death. That fact may not be difficult to account for considering the dangers in which he lived, and the repeated warnings received by him that his life was in danger. A premonition of approaching death was not, however, an unknown thing in the Lincoln family. One of his cousins was so sure of the manner in which he was to die, that his wife did not wish him to go to the woods alone lest a tree should fall upon him.

Our knowledge of the Lincoln family is far too meager to justify sweeping generalizations. It is a subject that will bear much more painstaking study than any one has yet devoted to it. Such study as I have been able to make appears to make it certain that some of Lincoln's most important characteristics were not purely individualistic, but are to be accounted for by family inheritance.

One subject, of very great delicacy and involving no little difficulty, will have to be considered in any thorough attempt to account for the mentality of Lincoln, and that is the degree of normality of his sexual life. The present would appear to be a time in which the phenomena of sex is finding over-emphasis, not only in current fiction and poetry but in more serious branches

of literature. From this overstrained condition we may hope for a wholesome reaction. Nevertheless, the facts of sex are not to be ignored.

There is agreement among competent authorities that Abraham Lincoln lived a chaste life both before and after his marriage to Mary Todd. No charge of sexual irregularity, worthy of a moment's attention, has ever been made against him. Before his marriage he was shy in his relations with women; after his marriage, although he spent long weeks away from home and did not habitually return to Springfield for week-ends while he was riding the circuit, there lies against him no charge of loose conduct.

His first child, Robert T. Lincoln, was born on the two hundred and seventieth day following the marriage of Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd, a period which tells its own story of immediate conception. His other children were born at regular intervals of about three years. Although he was neither impotent nor sterile, Abraham Lincoln had a morbid dread of the responsibilities of matrimony. In the case of Mary Owens, a partial explanation is to be found in his poverty, and the depression growing out of uncertainty regarding his own financial future.

But this does not wholly account for that strange courtship. In the case of Mary Todd, a partial explanation is to be found in such knowledge as we have of her violent temper and Lincoln's realization of his own lack of social grace. Other men, however, have contemplated marriage when disparities quite as great stared them in the face, and have made their decision unvexed by any such mental perturbation as characterized Abraham Lincoln. He was nearly thirty-four years of age when he married, and he contemplated the step with a thoroughly morbid hesitation.

It is unnecessary to review in detail the story of his courtship. We discover in Lincoln a man of domestic tastes and of pure life, a man who was upright in his relations with women before his marriage, was true to his wife and the father of a family of children, yet whose attitude toward marriage was influenced by a large degree of abnormality.

Robert Lincoln, the president's second cousin, told John Hay that the Illinois Lincolns "were not a marrying set." This fact has frequently been mentioned and commented upon in letters to me from members of the Lincoln family. The Lincolns tend to marry late if at all, and not to remarry in case of the death of husband or wife. The Hanks family was quite evidently adequately sexed. The Lincoln family appears to have been under-sexed.

There is a vague rumor to the effect that Lincoln was at one time in an insane asylum. That story appears to have no foundation whatever in fact; neither have I found records of near relatives of his who were pronounced insane. Twice, however, and perhaps oftener, Lincoln exhibited unstable mental equilibrium. One of these occasions occurred after the death of Ann Rutledge. The current accounts of his alleged insanity at that time have been considerably exaggerated; nevertheless there is adequate evidence of marked mental disturbance superinduced by grief.

The other period is that which followed what he called, "the fatal first of January," 1841. Here also there has been exaggeration as has been shown in another chapter. But his letter to Stuart can have no other meaning than this, that Lincoln believed himself to be in danger of going permanently insane.

Lincoln, in common with other members of the Lincoln family, had periods of profound depression, alternating with others of boisterous hilarity. Not only did he make others laugh when he was gay; he laughed uproariously at his own jokes. But there were other times when his gloom "dripped from him as he walked." His mind was rocked between mighty emotions, from gleeful mirth to profound melancholy.

Superficial critics have their easy way of accounting for Lincoln's moods. The sentimental ones among them like to think that he received such a shock by reason of the death of Ann Rutledge, that he never was completely happy afterward. Those who enjoy putting the worst possible aspects upon his none too

happy married life, have no difficulty in explaining his moods by reference to the hot temper and unreasonable and capricious will of Mary Todd. There is no occasion to deny whatever of influence may properly be attributed to these conditions of Lincoln's life. But these alone do not account for his alternate mirth and melancholy. Something of the explanation is to be found in these incidents, but something also in those elements of the man himself which grow out of his heredity and his own peculiar psychological development.

No man has any right entirely to outgrow his emotions. Abraham Lincoln never did so. Affection, sympathy, mirth, and even capacity for mighty wrath, belonged to him. But the man who would think clearly must sometimes be able to keep his intellectual processes in one compartment, and his emotions in another, separated by a nearly water-tight bulkhead. If he can not do this he will find his thinking water-logged, and his conclusions will flounder and sink. There comes a time when a man must learn to get light without heat. Abraham Lincoln acquired that ability. He was able to face an intellectual problem intellectually, and resolutely think it through. He was gifted with a kind of remorseless logic, which upon occasion made him master of an intellectual adjustment almost mechanical in the perfection of its workings.

His very ability to tell a story or crack a joke in a time when the emotional strain grew tense, was evidence of a high degree of normality of judgment. It enabled Lincoln to accomplish an adjustment between emotion and sound logic which tended enormously to a clarity of judgment. "I laugh because I must not cry; that's all, that's all," he said. That was as good a reason, perhaps, as he could give to any one else, but there was a deeper psychological reason than he could have understood. He laughed because for him it was a time when laughter was the most normal method possible of adjusting the balance between intellect and emotion, and preparing for sound and sensible judgment.

This fact about Lincoln's poise of intellect and emotion must not pass without emphasis. Lincoln was by nature a man of powerful emotions. More than once in his youth his mind approached a condition of instability. Anger, lust and a melancholy so deep that it blackened the whole sky, were all within the potentialities of his nature. He learned self-control. Capable of towering rage, he seldom lost his temper. Capable of mighty sexual passion, he lived a life of chastity. And as the years went by, he so far mastered his moods as to make him capable of concentrated and continuous thought.

We are living in a time when it is fashionable to talk of "complexes" and "inhibitions," and there is much tendency to make men the victims of circumstances and the helpless puppets of their own subconscious minds. Lincoln taught his conscious mind and deliberate will to rule his spirit and direct his energies. He became master of his own destiny by being the captain of his own soul.

An important lesson is here for men and women who suppose themselves to be the inevitable victims of their own environment and heredity. Powerful as are the dead hands which reach down through heredity and grip the lives of successive generations, life and the mastery thereof belong not to the dead but to the living. Men are not inevitably the victims of their own debilitated wills or disordered imaginations. It is possible by patient, resolute, persistent soul-culture, to rise measurably above constitutional and hereditary limitations. Tennyson declared

That men may rise on stepping stones
Of their dead selves to higher things.

Rather more difficult appears the problem in the light of present day psychology. A man must rise, if he rises at all, on stepping stones of his living self to higher things. St. Paul was not the only man who discovered the necessity of buffeting his own body and keeping it under, lest having preached to others, he

should himself become a castaway. The problem of triumphant life is that and more. A man must buffet and conquer certain elements in his own mentality, enthroning not simply the mind above the body, but enthroning also within the mind those powers and faculties which constitute his noblest self.

The lesson of the Chambered Nautilus is still as good as when Holmes wrote his poem about it. The soul must build itself, and the human mind has built for itself, "more stately mansions" than those which the anatomy of the human brain makes manifest as the evolution of the primitive heritage of vertebrate life. But we are not able wholly to "leave our low-vaulted past." As we bear about in our bodies rudimentary organs analogous to those of lower animal life, yet use instead of them those that are distinctive of our humanity, so we bear about in our minds the vestiges of impulse and desire whose enthronement within us would be fatal to all nobility of soul.

This we know about Abraham Lincoln, that with much in his environment unfavorable to higher development, and with inherent tendency to lethargy, indolence, torpor and a brooding melancholy which if indulged would have been fatal to all resolute endeavor, he made himself master of his environment and master of his own mind. Wise was the man who, in the book of Proverbs, is placed highest among the conquerors, the man that ruleth his own spirit.

III. LINCOLN AS A BUSINESS MAN

This topic might be treated with extreme brevity. It might be affirmed that Lincoln was not a business man, and that there was, therefore, nothing to be said about him in that capacity. If proof were demanded, a considerable body of testimony would be found available. It would be remembered that Lincoln was declared by his friends to "have had no money sense." It will be recalled that his successive ventures as a merchant in New Salem all were doomed to financial ruin. It will not be forgotten that for many years he was in debt, and did not succeed in paying

the last of his indebtedness until his term in Congress in 1847-8. It will not be forgotten that in his second term in the Legislature of Illinois he was on the Finance Committee, and that he had his full share of responsibility for plunging Illinois into that morass of speculation and wild financiering which wrought ruin for the state and for all who shared the unfounded hopes of that period. It will surely be recited that in those days Lincoln aspired to be "the DeWitt Clinton of Illinois," considering himself to possess a financial acumen which he did not possess then or afterward. All this can be said and has been said, and it would seem to prove the unwisdom of attempting to talk about Abraham Lincoln as a business man. But it is that subject which we are to consider.

First of all, Abraham Lincoln was honest. He had that first requisite for business success. Business is done on the basis of confidence, and confidence must be founded upon the belief that men are honest. He paid his debts; he paid the debts incurred by his partner. It took him years to do it, but he did it. While still a young man he earned the name of "Honest Abe," and he held it and deserved it as long as he lived. In this particular, at least, Mr. Lincoln had the fundamental qualification for a successful business life. He possessed moral character, and he was able to make men believe in him. Without this quality there can be no permanently successful business.

Further, we should remember, Lincoln did not fail permanently. We are told every now and again that nine-tenths of American business men fail. The proportion probably is not anywhere nearly so large as this. But if they fail, they do not, for the most part, fail permanently. The man who fails as a farmer succeeds as an inventor. The man who fails as a school-teacher succeeds as an editor. The man who fails as a preacher succeeds as a doctor. The man who fails as a lawyer succeeds as a vendor of real estate. This is the characteristic of American life, not that no one fails in America but that very few men stay failed. They rise again, if they have energy, character and enthusiasm; and after one or more failures, they succeed. Lincoln failed as

the keeper of a country store. The town failed. It "winked out." It was not possible that any one should permanently succeed there. The hopes upon which the future of the town were based were insecure. But when the firm of Lincoln and Berry failed, Lincoln studied surveying and law, and he found something that he could do successfully.

To be sure, he gained money slowly. Fees were small, and Lincoln's fees were smaller than those of some of his associates. Still, he gained wealth in modest measure. He paid up his debt. He bought and paid for a home. He did not hesitate to sue the Illinois Central Railway Company for a good round fee, and he collected it. He was not covetous, but he knew the value of money, and the money that he earned he collected and kept. When he left Springfield for Washington, he had money in the bank, no large sum, but still quite enough to keep him out of fear of poverty, and his practise was growing more remunerative year by year. His investments were conservative, and the money which he gained was not wasted in idle neglect or covetous speculation. Had he lived on as a lawyer, he would never have been rich; but he would have developed more and more of business ability within the sphere of his experience, and would have been accounted a successful man. Such we may properly account him.

Lincoln's office has often been described as a very untidy and disorderly place. Lincoln had no system or order in the arrangement of his office affairs. But he was able to draw his papers in good form, and write out his documents in a clear hand and with precision of statement. His bookkeeping was of the very simplest character, if, indeed, he can be said to have kept any books. When he collected a fee, he divided it in two equal parts, and marked one "Herndon's half" and left it on his table. That was simple, but it was methodical. And it was sufficient for their needs.

Finally, Lincoln died possessed of a modest fortune. It is true that after his death many articles were published stating that Mrs. Lincoln had been left in a condition of penury. Mrs. Lin-

coln herself, in her disordered mental condition, contributed something to this impression. As late as December, 1922, letters of hers which had not previously been published appeared in the newspapers, telling of her poverty after the death of her husband. The truth is that at the time of his death, Lincoln was worth more than one hundred and ten thousand dollars, most of it invested in good government bonds. While he was not rich, even as wealth was then estimated among men in high official life, he left Mrs. Lincoln an assured income of about five thousand dollars a year, and Congress added to this a modest pension.

Thus, judged even from the standpoint of success in accumulating wealth, Lincoln can not be counted a failure as a business man. Judged by the principles which underlay this measure of success, his integrity, honesty and application to duty, Lincoln may be counted a success.

Nearly every man has to be a business man in some degree. Not every man has to be a merchant prince, but it is important that a man shall do well such business as he has to do. Judged by what was necessary to him in the conduct of the business that legitimately belonged to him, Abraham Lincoln was not a failure as a man of affairs. He may be considered something of a success; for he paid his honest debts and left his family sufficient provision for their requirements. That is success in business.

IV. THE CHARACTER OF LINCOLN

Some aspects of the character of Lincoln lie revealed upon its surface. His transparent sincerity, his rugged honesty, his exalted sense of honor, his kindness of heart, are written so plain that he who runs may read. Yet he who attempts to account for Abraham Lincoln by any simple canon of judgment will find himself baffled. Whatever consistency there was in Lincoln's life was made up of the union of antithetic elements. Of him might have been said as was said of Brutus:

His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, "This was a man."

All strong characters have to their credit some quality of obstinate and laudable inconsistency without which they could not be consistent with themselves. In them we discover that paradox which John Hay attributed to Jim Bludsoe, by reason of which the passengers of the flaming boat "put their faith in his cussedness, and knew that he'd keep his word." Tennyson recognized this strong moral paradox:

His honor, rooted in dishonor stood,
And faith, unfaithful, kept him falsely true.

What St. Paul and Augustine and Anthony found of the warfare within themselves is that which all great men have experienced. If the inconsistency be not in the sphere of ethics, still is it present in some mental maladjustment which provides at length its own equilibrium. The equipoise of mental traits that seem opposed and of moral principles in apparent conflict, constitute the centripetal and centrifugal forces of character. Few men have been so consistently inconsistent as Abraham Lincoln.

The character of Abraham Lincoln combined in marked degree humility and self-confidence. In some aspects of his life, his humility was very nearly complete. He felt his own limitations and acknowledged them with sincerity and sometimes with sorrow. On the other hand, he was strangely and profoundly conscious of his power. Seward and Chase and other men who knew the superiority of their training to his, and who heard him confess his own deficiencies, were amazed when he quietly ceased to defer to them and asserted his own judgment and conviction with a finality that brooked no further opposition. John Hay is right in saying that in this aspect of his character Lincoln was far from being a modest man, that this power of self-assertion in him was something which these men found almost intolerable, and were never able to forget.

Every truly great man recognizes his own limitations; Lincoln was painfully aware of them. But every great man is aware, also, of his power, and without that consciousness of power he could never become great. Lincoln had this consciousness of strength, and it combined with an enormous ambition. Not all his protestations of humility are to be taken at their full face value. Some of them were half ironical, and were used to disarm an opponent by a confession of inequality, an acknowledgement of his adversary's superior education or wealth or social position. They were sometimes as clever as were Mark Antony's declaration of his own lack of eloquence and unworthiness to speak at Cæsar's funeral, and his praise of Brutus and the other honorable men.

Lincoln was self-assertive to the point of arrogance. He made demands upon his friends which had no meaning except as he and they understood his position of superiority. The patient, humble Lincoln is known, or supposed to be known, to the world; but the men who really knew Lincoln knew a man so confident of his own powers, and so sure of his right to demand the loyalty and obedience of other men, that they never quite understood him. But they did his bidding.

Lincoln never worked well in a subordinate position. Dennis Hanks has told us how, in Lincoln's youth, if a stranger passed along the road and asked a question, it was Abraham who was ready with the first word, often to the displeasure of Abraham's father. Lincoln liked it little, when he entered Stuart's office, that he was expected to do the drudging work of the office while Stuart was out making political speeches; and when Lincoln became Judge Logan's junior partner, Lincoln was ambitious enough to aspire to the very office which Judge Logan wanted; in fact, Lincoln obtained it first, and his one term of Congress made it impossible for Logan to get there. When Lincoln worked to advantage, it was always in a position in which he could be the leader. He was never so constituted as to follow other men's lead. Writers who know only the imaginary Lin-

coln tell us much of his modesty; he was modest, in a sense. But the men who knew Lincoln did not think of him as modest. They thought of him as a man of towering ambition and inordinate self-assertion. It was this quality in Lincoln, a quality still for the most part unrecognized, and habitually denied, that combined with his modesty and made him capable of leadership.

Lincoln had a remarkable combination of caution and courage. His caution was nothing less than abnormal. His periods of indecision were marked by what seemed an almost hopeless inability to meet the situation. His hesitation when he was about to marry, as manifested in his relations with Mary Owens, and again with Mary Todd, are not the only instances of his great caution. He displayed that caution in the earlier periods of his anti-slavery convictions. Again and again it disappointed and even disgusted outspoken abolitionists that Abraham Lincoln did not seem to possess the courage of their convictions. On the other hand Lincoln had abundant courage both as to his own person and acts as to public policies and military movements.

It is not always understood to what extent Lincoln himself was compelled to direct the movements of the eastern army up to the very hour that Grant took hold of them. As a matter of fact he virtually compelled every move that the reluctant McClellan ever made, and he frequently devised plans more bold than his generals were willing to accept.

On September 11, 1863, John Hay wrote to his associate John G. Nicolay, who just then was away from Washington:

Some well-meaning newspapers advise the President to keep his fingers out of the military pie, and all that sort of thing. The truth is, if he did, the pie would be a sorry mess. The old man sits here and wields like a back-woods Jupiter, the bolts of war and the machinery of government with a hand equally steady and equally firm.

In John Hay's diary under date of April 28, 1864, he recorded:

The President told a queer story of Meigs. When McClellan lay at Harrison's Landing, Meigs came one night to the President and waked him up at the Soldiers' Home, to urge upon him the immediate flight of the army from that point—the men to get away on transports, and the *horses to be killed*, as they could not be saved. "Thus often," says the President, "I, who am not a specially brave man, have had to restore the sinking courage of these professional fighters in critical times."

Lincoln combined a certain coarseness and obtuseness to some of the niceties of convention with a remarkable delicacy and sensitiveness to some of life's finer obligations. This contradiction has been exploited with quite sufficient fullness by various writers on Lincoln, and need not here be enlarged upon. Alfred Tennyson had the same coarse streak in him, and so had Robert Browning. No English gentleman who called on Lincoln was ever more profoundly shocked, or with anything like so good reason, as was Henry W. Longfellow by the vulgarity of Alfred Tennyson. I have no occasion to reconcile that quality in any of these men with the undeniable high character of their thinking or the noble spirituality of the best that was in them. Still less do I find occasion to tell any lies about it. Lincoln was both coarse and delicate; sensitive and obtuse. I do not attempt to harmonize these contradictions. Abraham Lincoln was not a consistent man. After all, "consistency is the hob-goblin of little minds."

Lincoln was in some respects an excellent and in others a very poor judge of human nature. At times he had keen insight into men's motives, and at other times was strangely blind to them. Mr. Weik, in his recent volume* instances, and I think correctly, the case of Mark W. Delahay of Kansas. Delahay was a lawyer of no great ability, a distant relative of Lincoln on the Hanks side. He went to Kansas a Democrat, but changed his politics when the change became advantageous. Lincoln paid his fare to the Chicago Convention of 1860, and kept in telegraphic com-

**The Real Lincoln*, pp. 221-226.

munication with him from day to day.* Lincoln made him a Federal judge, a position which he was most unfit to fill, and from which he was subsequently removed in disgrace. By such men Lincoln was often imposed upon. In some respects Lincoln showed good judgment of men; in others his judgment of character was almost culpably weak. It is easy enough to say that Lincoln, in the goodness of his heart, assumed that other men were as guileless as himself; that explanation does not explain. Lincoln knew to his sorrow that many other men were not so honest and righteous as he. There is no easy explanation. Abraham Lincoln was not a man to be accounted for by rule of thumb. His consistency, if he was consistent, was not of that sort.

Lincoln combined strong animal passion with chastity and self-control. The world's work must be done by men of initiative, passion and power. Emasculated saintliness will never bring in the good time coming. But while the world's work requires men of virility, it requires also men who do not waste the energy which their power produces, or enfeeble themselves in sensual self-indulgence.

He held power in reserve. He created it and conserved it, and on occasion he used it; he never wasted it in futile rage or unreasonable vexation over minor discomforts or in the weakness of self-indulgence.

Lincoln rarely touched alcoholic liquor in any form, and he did not use tobacco. The reason he gave was that he did not care for them. It can hardly be said that he was a total abstainer on principle, but he was an earnest friend of the Washingtonian movement, and a believer in temperance. How he would have stood on the present-day question of prohibition, we may only conjecture. We know that he would have stood strongly for the enforcement of law. We also know that when, on January 23, 1853, Reverend James Smith preached a sermon in which he

*This fact I have from Addison G. Proctor, a delegate from Kansas, to whom Delahay showed the telegrams as he received them.

called on the Legislature then in session to enact a law forbidding the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquor for use as a beverage, a strikingly advanced position at that date, Lincoln was one of those who, signing themselves "Friends of temperance," asked for the printing of the sermon.

It is claimed on what might seem good authority that Lincoln, in 1855, in company with another man of like view, made a tour of "more than six months" through a portion of Illinois and delivered temperance addresses. This story is vouched for by a man of such credibility that to deny the story may seem ungracious, but I do not believe it. The local newspapers, so far as examined, are silent as to these addresses, and Lincoln cared too much for the German vote to alienate it when he had no occasion for doing so. He knew he would need that vote in 1858. It is unpleasant to take direct issue with as many good men as I am compelled to contradict in this book. They were on the ground and I was not. But old men remember a great many things that never occurred, and too largely history is based on their imaginings.*

Lincoln was a man at times easily influenced. He liked to do

*This declaration rests on the unsupported testimony of Reverend James B. Merwin, and is contained in a little volume entitled *Lincoln and Prohibition*, by my friend, Charles T. White. Mr. Merwin removed to Illinois in 1855, and became acquainted with Lincoln. He was a chaplain during a portion of the Civil War, his work being especially in hospitals. He affirmed that when he was in Washington during the war, he slept in a small room in the White House, and he claimed to have dined with Lincoln on the day of the latter's assassination, a claim which Robert T. Lincoln denies. Mr. Merwin had a watch which was presented to him in 1855. In it was an inscription alleged to have been composed by Abraham Lincoln. This was presented to Mr. Merwin in the rooms of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate* in Chicago, Abraham Lincoln, according to Mr. Merwin's memory, being one of the prominent participants. Mr. White naively states that he has looked up the incident in the files of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, and finds the incident recorded there, *except as to the presence of Lincoln*. My impression is that it would be safe to omit Lincoln from the rest of Mr. Merwin's recollections, except for two or three inconsequential matters. Mr. Merwin declared that in 1855, he and Abraham Lincoln stumped Illinois together for six months in the interests of a state law prohibiting the sale of liquor. It is not pleasant to brand such a statement as untrue, but I have no hesitation in doing so. If Lincoln, between his two campaigns for United States senator, had given six months to such lectures, the Illinois newspapers would have been full of it.

what he was asked to do. In many matters he was ready to accept the judgment of other men, and to modify his own judgment in view of what seemed to them to be desirable. But his pliability was counterbalanced by an element of dogged stubbornness. People who supposed that Lincoln was easily influenced, discovered that his will was a rock of adamant. Many men who had grown impatient with him because he was so slow to promulgate a policy of emancipation, really believed that some time between September, 1862, when the proclamation was issued, and January 1, 1863, when it went into effect, Lincoln would be prevailed upon by stronger wills than his own to modify, or even to rescind, that proclamation. Both they and those who opposed them in their desires, were amazed at the vigor with which Lincoln resisted every suggestion of this character. He would rather have been impeached and removed from office. He declared with the utmost vigor that if any president modified that proclamation, it would be another occupant of the White House and not himself. When it was suggested that the rebellion might end peacefully and on terms which involved the restoration of the emancipated slaves to their masters, Lincoln's indignation waxed hot at the thought of a proposal so dishonorable. Any such plan, he said, would involve stripping the uniform off the backs of black men who had been soldiers, and exposing those backs to the lash of the slave-driver.

Yet Lincoln knew that it was more than possible that just this might happen if the war should end and the seceded states be restored before the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment. Those men who had been unable to drive Lincoln to the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation were astonished at the length he went in driving the nation toward the adoption of that amendment to the Constitution.

This insistence upon making slavery forever impossible in the United States Lincoln pushed without rancor though with tremendous determination. To the very end he would have been glad to equalize the economic burden north and south entailed by

the freeing of the slave by some sort of compensated emancipation. It is not commonly known that as late as February 5, 1865, a short month before the second inaugural, Lincoln read to his Cabinet a short message which he proposed to transmit to Congress asking for an appropriation of \$400,000,000, to be used at the discretion of the president, to be paid to the states then in rebellion, for emancipation, peace and the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment. The Cabinet unanimously disapproved the project, and Lincoln did not further urge it. Lincoln did not need to buy the good will of the South by any such proposal; the South was hopelessly beaten; the end of the conflict was in sight. Had Lincoln been disposed, he might have taken the high ground, which his entire Cabinet took, that it was no time for any conciliatory measure. It is a fine tribute to his greatness of heart as well as to his sagacity and statesmanship that he wanted to go before Congress with a proposal to pay four hundred millions of dollars to the defeated South toward compensation for their liberated slaves and for the rehabilitation of that distressed region. The fact that Lincoln could advocate such a plan while remorselessly pushing his campaign for the Thirteenth Amendment speaks volumes for his wisdom and kindness.

The tests of greatness in politics are not immediate and undisputable. Lincoln was denounced in his own day in terms which were bitter, cruel and unjust. But he was able to hold men in working relationships and to accomplish his purposes and secure permanent results. In the best sense he was an opportunist. He combined vision with practical sagacity. He was subtle and at times stubborn. He was pliable and in time of need adamant. He was a man of strange and contradictory qualities.

Lincoln was unmethodical and disorderly in his office and unsystematic in his work of preparation for his cases. But he had a singular ability to discriminate in his mental processes between the essential and non-essential. This process he carried over into his moral judgments. He believed in a government dedi-

cated to equality of rights before the law. We are much more likely to think ourselves the equal of Lincoln than to think humbler men our equals. Lincoln faced honestly the full implications of his convictions.

Lincoln took very little interest in local affairs. He did not greatly care who was mayor of Springfield unless the election of mayor had linked to it some measure which was likely to influence the district, state or national vote. He was not in any narrow sense a public-spirited citizen. He was not quick to see nor swift to contribute toward measures for purely local causes. Springfield was agitated several times over trials of runaway slaves. Lincoln, unless professionally employed as counsel, is not known to have offered his legal services or have made financial contribution in such cases. His mind moved in the political arena, and did not readily descend to the consideration of matters that were not related to his own ambitions or convictions. His mind lacked the power of generalized visualization, and the things which he did not see with his mind's eye fell on a brain rather obtuse and sluggish. But the things that he could visualize made a powerful appeal to his imagination and deeply stirred his sympathies.

He did not complain of dirty sheets and bad meals in the hotels when he was on the circuit, because they did not greatly annoy him. Largely his mind was on other things, and when he noticed small discomforts, he was not very sensitive to them. Some of the stings and smarts of his later official life were mercifully blunted by his convenient thick skin. But there were times when he suffered, and suffered most keenly. No one can tell just at what point he became sensitive or where he was oblivious of discomfort, for he was a man of strange contradictions.

Lincoln was a shrewd man, but a man unflinchingly honest. He knew how political situations were controlled, and he adapted himself to the political life of his generation. But he struggled on with poverty year after year. When he might have made his

politics a basis for prosperity, he still remained poor and in debt. Interesting stories were told in New Salem concerning his truthfulness and honor. He made a mistake in the weighing of tea by using a lighter weight than he intended. He did not rest until he had carried the additional few ounces of tea to the woman to whom it belonged. He made a mistake in the change which he gave to a woman, and walked three miles to rectify his error. When the post-office at New Salem was given up, he owed the government a trifling balance and there was no officer present to whom he could pay it. Some months afterward when he had removed to Springfield, a post-office official called upon him for a settlement. Lincoln produced the money, of course, but the interesting thing about it was that he drew out an old blue sock and handed over the original copper cents and other fractional currency in which the amounts had been paid to him while he was postmaster at New Salem. While still in that little village he won the loving and appreciative title "Honest Abe." He deserved it then and continued to deserve it as long as he lived.

Lincoln was a man both just and generous. A man so loyal to a high standard of justice is not always considerate of those who fail to attain to his exalted station. Lincoln was as considerate in his judgment of other men as he was exacting in his own ethical standards.

Lincoln combined strong common sense with loyalty to conscience. He had an almost intuitive way of getting at the essential elements in any situation which he needed to appraise. As a lawyer he was noted for his habit of stripping a case of all its unnecessary and incidental features, and coming directly to the heart of the matter. His lucidity of expression was closely joined with his power of just estimation. Even in his advocacy of one side of the case, there was present a certain judicial quality. In the perplexing problems that came to him as president, the nation came to rely more and more upon these qualities of sound judgment and simple discernment of right. Disappointed as the

people of the North were at the settlement of the Trent affair, and smarting as they did under a stinging sense of injustice, they accepted Lincoln's solution of the problem because they had come to believe in his discernment of the right. James Russell Lowell spoke for the nation when he represented Brother Jonathan as saying to John Bull:

"We gave the critters back, John,
'Cause Abr'am thought 'twas right."

The country learned to trust his judgment concerning things that were right and wrong. He forced Douglas and the nation to deal with slavery as a moral question, and both Douglas and the nation came so to regard it.

Outstanding among Lincoln's high qualities was his magnanimity. In him was no petty malice, no spirit of revenge. He smarted under the sting of injustice, but he did not render evil for evil. Again and again he repaid with kindness those who had done him wrong.

Reference need not here be made to what has already been mentioned of his treatment of McClellan, Meade, Seward, Chase and Stanton. These outstanding examples of Lincoln's greatness, which caused him to rise above all personal resentment, must stand forever as high proofs of Lincoln's inherent nobility. They are examples of a magnanimity as meritorious as it is rare.

There are two essentials of leadership. The first is that he who leads a people shall be part and parcel of the life of those whom he leads. The other is that he shall have some quality which lifts him above and makes him superior to those whose leader he is. Many men possess one of these qualities, but very few possess them both. Abraham Lincoln combined them in preeminent degree. He was above the people but he was of the people. His life was bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh. Yet there was ever something in him that lifted him above other men. They felt it and he felt it. They did not approach him

with rude familiarity, and call him by his first name. There was something in him that restrained them from such acts of unmitigated freedom. Lincoln was the embodiment of the life of the common people. He believed in them and thought God must love them because he made so many of them. On the other hand Lincoln embodied in himself those high qualities of superiority which men could not fail to recognize. Few men in all the world's history have held in such perfect equilibrium these two essential characteristics as did Abraham Lincoln.

Only those men professed to know Abraham Lincoln intimately who knew him very little if at all. Lincoln combined an engaging frankness with a nature phenomenally secretive. Those men who visited Lincoln and to whom he confided highly important information learned, in general, what all the world was certain to know a few hours later. The secrets that Lincoln wished kept, he did not tell.

If any man in Illinois knew Lincoln from the time he returned from Congress until his election to the presidency, that man was David Davis. He was judge in the Eighth Judicial District during nearly the whole period of Lincoln's later years at the bar, and Lincoln was the one lawyer who rode the whole circuit. He and Davis drove together in Lincoln's buggy, for Lincoln had little fondness for horseback riding and Davis was too heavy to ride a horse far. They ate and slept together. Lincoln repeatedly sat on the bench when Davis wished to be away for a day. Davis was Lincoln's campaign manager at the Chicago Convention. Lincoln elevated Davis to the Supreme Court. Davis was Mrs. Lincoln's attorney after her husband's death, knowing, as she could not help knowing, that there was no man whom her husband trusted more fully.

If any man knew Lincoln intimately in the four years of his presidency, it was Orville H. Browning. He and Lincoln had known each other in the Illinois Legislature. Browning was a trustee of Knox College, and was the man who introduced the motion, just after the Chicago Convention, that Knox confer its

first honorary degree, the Doctorate of Laws, upon Abraham Lincoln, thus doing what Princeton did later. Browning succeeded Douglas in the Senate. He was a man of honor and of sincere religious principle. Lincoln held him in the highest possible esteem. He was often in the White House at meals. Even Isaac N. Arnold had to obtain from Browning his most important information as to the inside of the White House during Lincoln's administration.

On the day following Lincoln's death, these two men, Senator Browning and Judge David Davis, sat down together and confessed that they did not know Abraham Lincoln very well. Senator Browning recorded in his diary that in conversation with Judge Davis about Mr. Lincoln, Davis spoke of some of Lincoln's characteristics, saying he had neither strong friendships nor enmities. He declared that Lincoln had never written him, Davis, a letter, nor asked his opinion upon any subject since he was elected president.

No wonder his partner, Herndon, who also confessed that he was not well acquainted with Lincoln, denounced as liars the men who professed to have been taken into Lincoln's inmost confidence at first sight, and said that while Lincoln appeared to those who did not know him, to be a man who told his whole mind to any one who inquired of him, he was "the most secretive, shut-mouthed man that ever lived."

Having followed the trail of Lincoln for many years, and talked with innumerable men who knew him, I read with genuine admiration, if not with approval, the books by men to whom the mind and soul of Abraham Lincoln are not merely an open book, but a tablet so written that he who runs may read. Year by year, as these studies have gone forward, my admiration for Lincoln has grown; but I have less and less confidence in the popular interpretations of his life. His character was the synthesis of many contradictions.

The first biographer of Lincoln to visit Springfield and gather his material at first hand, was Josiah G. Holland. He wrote concerning Lincoln:

The writer has conversed with multitudes of men who claimed to know Mr. Lincoln intimately: yet there are not two of the whole number who agree in their estimate of him. The fact was that he rarely showed more than one aspect of himself to one man. He opened himself to men in different directions. To illustrate the effect of the peculiarity of Mr. Lincoln's intercourse with men it may be said that men who knew him through all his professional and political life offered opinions as diametrically opposite as these, viz: that he was a very ambitious man, and that he was without a particle of ambition; that he was one of the saddest men that ever lived, and that he was one of the jolliest men that ever lived; that he was very religious, but that he was not a Christian; that he was a Christian, but did not know it; that he was so far from being a religious man or a Christian that "the less said upon that subject the better"; that he was the most cunning man in America, and that he had not a particle of cunning in him; that he had the strongest personal attachments, and that he had no personal attachments at all—only a general good feeling toward everybody; that he was a man of indomitable will, and that he was a man almost without a will; that he was remarkable for his pure-mindedness, and that he was the foulest in his jests and stories of any man in the country; that he was a witty man, and that he was only the retailer of the wit of others; that his apparent candor and fairness were only apparent, and that they were as real as his head and hands; that he was a boor, and that he was in all respects a gentleman; that he was a leader of the people, and that he was always led by the people; that he was cool and impassive, and that he was susceptible of the strongest passions. It is only by tracing these separate streams of impression back to their fountain that we were able to arrive at anything like a competent comprehension of the man, or to learn why he came to be held in such various estimation. Men caught only separate aspects of his character—only the fragments that were called into exhibition by their own qualities.

Commenting on the foregoing Herndon said:

Doctor Holland had only found what Lincoln's friends had always experienced in their relations with him—that he was a man with many moods and many sides. He never revealed himself entirely to any one man, and therefore he will always to a certain

extent remain enveloped in doubt. Even those who were with him through long years of hard study and under constantly varying circumstances can hardly say they knew him through and through.

V. LINCOLN'S RELIGION

Abraham Lincoln was a deeply religious man. He who would establish a contrary opinion must assume a burden of proof from which only confirmed prejudice or judicial incompetence could fail to shrink. To assure ourselves that he was religious is not difficult, but it is not easy to classify him among religionists or to define in terms of accepted creeds the precise tenets of his religious faith. His religion was part and parcel of his life, and his life was a life of growth.* In order to know something of the forms in which Lincoln's religious life expresses itself, it is important first to know of what form of such life was known to him and available for his selection.

The religious background of the early life of Abraham Lincoln, was that offered by the organization and preaching of the Baptist churches in the backwoods districts of Kentucky and southern Indiana. It was a militant and dogmatic Calvinism. While those churches were democratic in their government, their conception of the administration of the universe was arbitrary and despotic. The sovereignty of God as it was preached in those churches practically eliminated the freedom of the human will. Lincoln probably never listened in his boyhood to a Baptist minister who believed the earth round. Profoundly affected in his thinking by the system or theology which he heard in his youth, he revolted against its interpretation of God and of human life. When he came to New Salem and read the works of Voltaire and of Paine, he was much influenced by them, and had some inclination toward skepticism.

*I have considered the question of the development of Lincoln's spiritual life in a volume entitled *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln*. To that volume reference is made for a full discussion of Lincoln's religion in the different periods of his life. This chapter attempts nothing more than a concise summary of the conclusions of that volume.

Two books which he read while living in Springfield impressed him deeply. One was Chambers' *Vestiges of Creation*. This gave to him a conception of the orderly working of a righteous God in creation and in human life. He came to believe in what he called "Miracles under Law." The other book was entitled *The Christian's Defense*. It was an imposing work on the evidences of Christianity, the outgrowth of a protracted debate, one of whose participants was the Reverend James Smith, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Springfield. In 1850 the Lincolns became affiliated with this church. Mrs. Lincoln united with the church in full communion, and Lincoln became a pew holder and habitual attendant.

Two markedly different strains in the mind of Lincoln contributed to the formation of his religious thinking. One was a powerful tendency toward rationalism. He desired and needed a consistent theory underlying all his thinking. The other was an equally strong strain of mysticism. His rationalism did not halt at the threshold of the supernatural. His was a mind that easily accepted forces whose origin and purpose were beyond human knowledge. Not only did he accept the supernatural, but he accentuated it to the point of superstition. Lincoln's superstition, however, was not the main current of his thinking; it was a kind of spiritual undertone. He never was wholly free from it, but the strong tides of his moral nature had currents, and reached elevations of their own.

A mighty factor in the formation of Lincoln's religious views, was his clear and unconquerable sense of justice. Believing as he did in the sovereignty of God, and holding it in terms of a Calvinism that would have out-Calvined Calvin, he believed also in a Divine justice and a Divine mercy which he never fully reconciled with his thoughts of God's sovereignty, but which produced in him a profound conviction that the Judge of all the earth would do right. He believed in future punishment, and thought that ministers preached that too little rather than too much; but he did not believe in the eternity of that punishment.

He believed that a righteous and all-powerful God would find it possible somehow to eliminate suffering and sin from His universe.

Holding these convictions and influenced by these ideas, Lincoln sought with great earnestness to work in his own mind a consistent theory of the purpose of God in the great Civil War. In the latter part of the year 1862, in the effort to clarify his own thinking, he wrote these words on a slip of paper which was not published until his secretaries Nicolay and Hay wrote their biography:

The will of God prevails. In great contests each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be, and one must be, wrong. God cannot be for and against the same thing at the same time. In the present Civil War it is quite possible that God's purpose is something different from the purpose of either party; and yet the human instrumentalities, working just as they do, are of the best adaptation to effect his purpose. I am almost ready to say that this is probably true; that God wills this contest, and wills that it shall not end yet. By his mere great power on the minds of the now contestants, he could have either saved or destroyed the Union without a human contest. Yet the contest began. And, having begun, He could give the final victory to either side any day. Yet the contest proceeds.

As the war wore on it grew more clear to him that the purpose of God in America's great war involved the removal of slavery, with the inevitable punishment of the whole nation, North and South, for its share in that iniquity. Thus in his second inaugural, he said:

The Almighty has his own purposes, "Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and

that he gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

The quality of Lincoln's religious life is nobly illustrated in the threefold record of the Cabinet meeting in which he presented the Proclamation of Emancipation. He did not present that proclamation for any discussion of its main point. He had already settled that. He had made a solemn covenant with God and he fulfilled that covenant.

Lincoln did not speak easily or lightly of those things which were deepest in his life. He knew that his Cabinet was not united in its support of a policy of abolition. But his own statement of his reasons for the Emancipation Proclamation silenced every word of opposition. His Cabinet could not do other than accept it. Lincoln had promised his God that he would do it. His Cabinet knew better than to oppose him in that hour. He kept the promise which he had made to his God.

Abraham Lincoln never attempted to put his own convictions into the form of a creed. It is doubtful if he could have assented to any of the great orthodox creeds in the form and with the meaning which certain of the churches attach to them. In another and more extended study of Lincoln's religious life, I have endeavored to compile practically all of his religious affirmations that were embodied in signed documents or formal addresses. I did not think it wise to include any that depended upon the recollection of other people. In one chapter of the book already referred to, I made a selection from these utterances of Lincoln

with something of their context, and then proceeded to extract from these more extended quotations some briefer sentences and clauses which might go toward the composition of something approaching a creed. No liberties were taken with Lincoln's words, except to change the number of some of the pronouns from plural to singular, or to make other verbal modifications necessary to the unifying of the statements, and to prefix the words "I believe." Any reader who would prefer to make a compilation of his own, will find in the volume already alluded to, material for his own work.

I do not here repeat the full and extended quotations, the quarry from which the several articles of this creed are taken, for these are available in the book already referred to; but copy here from that volume, the creed itself.

THE CREED OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN—IN HIS OWN WORDS

I believe in God, the Almighty Ruler of Nations, our great and good and merciful Maker, our Father in Heaven, who notes the fall of a sparrow, and numbers the hairs of our heads.

I believe in His eternal truth and justice.

I recognize the sublime truth announced in the Holy Scriptures and proven by all history that those nations only are blest whose God is the Lord.

I believe that it is the duty of nations as well as of men to own their dependence upon the overruling power of God, and to invoke the influence of His Holy Spirit; to confess their sins and transgressions in humble sorrow, yet with assured hope that genuine repentance will lead to mercy and pardon.

I believe that it is meet and right to recognize and confess the presence of the Almighty Father equally in our triumphs and in those sorrows which we may justly fear are a punishment inflicted upon us for our presumptuous sins to the needful end of our reformation.

I believe that the Bible is the best gift which God has ever

given to men. All the good from the Saviour of the world is communicated to us through this book.

I believe the will of God prevails. Without Him all human reliance is vain. Without the assistance of that Divine Being I can not succeed. With that assistance I can not fail.

Being a humble instrument in the hands of our Heavenly Father, I desire that all my works and acts may be according to His will; and that it may be so, I give thanks to the Almighty, and seek His aid.

I have a solemn oath registered in Heaven to finish the work I am in, in full view of my responsibility to my God, with malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives me to see the right. Commending those who love me to His care, as I hope in their prayers they will commend me, I look through the help of God to a joyous meeting with many loved ones gone before.

VI. ABRAHAM LINCOLN, AMERICAN

Our country is large. It was perilously large in the beginning. It is a fair question whether the thirteen colonies could long have been held together but for the discovery of the uses of steam. From the time it became a nation, it was threatened with disruption; Washington sadly said, "We are one nation to-day, and thirteen to-morrow." Washington was himself the strongest of all those personal forces that bound the colonies together at the beginning, and as the nation has grown to vaster greatness, his name and personality have proved adequate to fit the American ideal. Still more potent in giving personality to a nation's best interpretation of its own life is the character of Abraham Lincoln.

Lincoln's life epitomizes American history. He was born in a cabin as primitive as that of the first settlers in the colonial period. He lived through the successive periods of American development as expressed in the backwoods settlement, the frontier town, the new state capital, and the seat of national power.

From the cabin on Nolin to the White House in Washington he expressed and embodied the life of the nation.

Lincoln was born in the South, but we do not think of him as a southerner. He directed the armies of the North, but we do not think of him as a northerner. He fought the war without hate, and he never cherished sectional jealousy or bigotry. The South had no truer friend; the spirit of unified nationalism had no finer or worthier exponent.

America makes high profession of faith when she claims Abraham Lincoln as the norm and exponent of her national life. The manhood of a nation that claims Lincoln should be clean, upright, honest, patriotic, sympathetic, magnanimous, noble. Can America make this claim for her manhood? It is her clear duty and her high privilege to aspire that this shall be true. She has a right to tell to her youth the story of Lincoln, and to teach her young manhood to emulate his simple virtues. She has a right to hang his portrait on the walls of her legislative halls and her courts of justice. She has a right to name him in her intercourse with other nations. She has a right to define her own principles in terms of his integrity and transparent righteousness. America that produced Abraham Lincoln can beget other sons in his likeness and train them up in his spirit. It will be a proud day for our country when other nations think of him, and believe that Americans are like him and that America is filled with his spirit. His name unifies America.

VII. ABRAHAM LINCOLN, WORLD CITIZEN

A nation divided against itself, into ignorant and educated, righteous and unrighteous, can not stand. We must educate and elevate all our people and make the rule of the people something else than the rule of the mob. A world divided against itself can not stand. It can not endure half armed and half unarmed, half peaceable and half militaristic. It can not endure with one half cherishing hatred and contempt and suspicion against the

other half. The world must learn a basis of self-government in righteousness. The world is just beginning to believe this; and that is one reason why the name of Abraham Lincoln is being honored in meetings for international good will, not in America only, but throughout the earth.

Democracy in America is more than a form of government; it is a confession of faith in the moral character of the universe. It is a philosophy of life, and the expression of a hope for the future of the human race. This is why, spite of all the unpleasant and self-assertive forms in which Americans have flouted their noisy patriotism in the face of other peoples, the world has an ever growing affection and respect for the character of Abraham Lincoln. England claims him by right of his descent, and the free nations of the world claim him by reason of the kinship they discover in his spirit. There is little danger that his fame will grow less; it is as certain as anything future can well be that it will grow from more to more until it is loved and honored the whole world around.

The personality of Abraham Lincoln grows dim with the flight of years. The last man who saw and knew him will soon be dead. A halo about his personality refracts the light of calm judgment. Already he is in good part a mythical character. To him are attributed many utterances which have no place in his writings or speeches. Concerning him are current past any hope of eradication incidents which never occurred or in which he had no part. Poetry and song and the myth-making tendency of the human mind are all at work, and have been at work for half a century. But only a mighty man could thus have been idealized. If the outline of his personality grows dim in the mists of the decades, his figure bulks big and regal. We measure his stature by the shadow which he casts; it is nothing less than colossal. And the crest of his character is the dignity of his moral grandeur.

Men whom the world counts great have been conveniently grouped into three classes—those who are born great, those who

attain to greatness, and those who have greatness thrust upon them. The first two groups may in reality be one—those who, born with inherent qualities of greatness, attain to its realization and recognition by their own innate power, and its fortunate adaptation to opportunity. When a truly great man becomes the advocate of a great cause, and meets a great situation adequately, worthily and triumphantly, the patient ages rise from their somnolence and rejoice.

Those men who have greatness thrust upon them live not long in the rarified atmosphere to which they are suddenly elevated. They must die soon or they outlive their fame. Some of them, fortunately caught by death in the brief hour of their publicity, are impulsively enrolled among the notable men of their generation; but even so, they lengthen but little the period in which they are accounted notable. Die they soon or die they late, their fame fades, and they pass in due time to their own place in oblivion.

But they who, being great, match their quality against the challenging front of opportunity, achieve a distinction which grows toward immortality. Like snow-capped mountains hidden at close view by their own foot-hills, and emerging to appear at first only as slightly higher elevations in the range, they tower more loftily as the years recede, dwarfing all lesser hills of their contemporaries, until they stand in solitary grandeur. While the plain is yet dark, they greet with radiant crest the dawn of succeeding generations. Of these, greatest of all men of his generation was Abraham Lincoln.

THE END

APPENDIX

I. CORPORAL TANNER'S ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF LINCOLN

Perhaps the only man now living who was in the Peterson house on the night of Lincoln's assassination is Honorable James Tanner, to whom reference is made in the text of this volume. His account, written on Sunday, April 17, 1865, has recently been printed in the *American Historical Review* from which I quote. The foot-notes are by Professor J. Franklin Jameson.*

THE following letter, now in the possession of Mr. Hadley H. Walch, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, son of the man to whom it was addressed, was brought to the attention of the *Review* by Professor C. H. Van Tyne. The writer, Honorable James Tanner, now residing in Washington, where since 1904 he has been register of wills for the District of Columbia, kindly consents to its publication. Born in 1844, Mr. Tanner enlisted early in the Civil War in the 87th New York Volunteers, and lost both legs at the second battle of Bull Run.

In 1864 [he writes] I attended Ames's Business College, Syracuse, New York, for the purpose of studying shorthand. Hadley F. Walch, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, was a fellow student of shorthand and we kept up a desultory acquaintance for some years. That winter of '64 I came to Washington to take a clerkship in the War Department. Walch continued his study and perfected himself in shorthand and was for many years, I think, reporter in the courts at Grand Rapids, Michigan.†

Mr. Tanner remembers writing the letter to Walch. On the same day or the day preceding he wrote to his mother a long let-

*Vol. XXIX, April 1924, pp. 514-17.

†Mr. Walch occupied that position from 1869 till his death in 1920.

ter of similar purport. From that letter, which afterward came into his possession, a paragraph is quoted in an account by him of President Lincoln's death, in the *New York Sun* of April 16, 1905; this quotation is repeated in David M. DeWitt's *The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 270.

Ordinance Office, War Department,
WASHINGTON, April 17, 1865.

Friend Walch:

Your very welcome letter was duly received by me and now I will steal a few minutes from my duties in the office to answer it.

Of course, you must know as much as I do about the terrible events which have happened in this city during the past few days. I have nothing else to write about so I will give you a few ideas about that, perhaps, which you have not yet got from the papers.

Last Friday night a friend invited me to attend the theatre with him, which I did. I would have preferred the play at Ford's Theatre, where the President was shot, but my friend chose the play at Grover's, which was "Aladdin, or the Wonderful Lamp."* While sitting there witnessing the play about ten o'clock or rather a little after, the entrance door was thrown open and a man exclaimed, "President Lincoln is assassinated in his private box at Ford's!" Instantly all was excitement and a terrible rush commenced and someone cried out, "Sit down, it is a ruse of the pickpockets." The audience generally agreed to this, for the most of them sat down, and the play went on; soon, however, a gentleman came out from behind the scenes and informed us that the sad news was too true. We instantly dispersed.

On going out in the street we were horrified to learn that Mr. Seward had been attacked and severely injured while in bed at his house. Myself and friend went up to Willard's,† which is a short distance above Grover's, to learn what we could, but could learn nothing there. The people were terribly excited. Ford's Theatre is on Tenth St. between E and F. Grover's is on the Avenue near Fourteenth St. and just below Willard's; it is about four blocks up from Ford's. My boarding house is right opposite Ford's Theatre. We then got on the cars and went down to Tenth St. and up Tenth St. to Ford's and to my boarding house. There was an immense throng there, very quiet yet very much

*Grover's, or the New National Theatre, still called by the latter name.

†Willard's Hotel.

excited; the street was crowded and I only got across on account of my boarding there. The President had been carried into the adjoining house* to where I board; I went up to my room on the second floor and out on the balcony which nearly overhangs the door of Mr. Peterson's house. Members of the cabinet, the chief justice, Generals Halleck, Meiggs, Augur and others were going in and out, all looking anxious and sorrow-stricken. By leaning over the railing I could learn from time to time of His Excellency's condition, and soon learned that there was no hope of him. Soon they commenced taking testimony in the room adjoining where he lay, before Chief Justice Carter,† and General Halleck‡ called for a reporter: no one was on hand, but one of the head clerks in our office, who boarded there,** knew I could write shorthand and he told the General so, and he bade him call me, so he came to the door and asked me to come down and report the testimony. I went down and the General passed me in, as the house was strictly guarded, of course. I went into a room between the rear room and the front room.†† Mrs. Lincoln was in the front room weeping as though her heart would break. In the back room lay His Excellency breathing hard, and with every breath a groan. In the room where I was, were Generals Halleck, Meiggs, Augur and others, all of the cabinet excepting Mr. Seward, Chief Justice Chase and Chief Justice Carter of the District of Columbia, Andrew Johnson‡‡ and many other distinguished men. A solemn silence pervaded the whole throng; it was a terrible moment. Never in my life was I surrounded by half so impressive circumstances. Opposite me at the table where I sat

*The Petersen house at 453, (now 516) Tenth Street, still standing, in which the present occupant, Mr. O. H. Oldroyd, has for many years preserved his Lincoln Memorial Collection.

†David K. Carter, chief justice of the supreme court of the District of Columbia.

‡Mr. Tanner tells the editor that the name of Halleck was written by inadvertence; it was Major-General C. C. Augur, then commanding the department of Washington.

**It was Albert Daggett, afterward of some prominence as the contractor for post-cards.

††The house was two rooms deep, but with an L. The President had been laid on a bed in the L room on the first floor, here designated as the rear room. There is a diagram of the house in Nicolay and Hay's *Abraham Lincoln*, X. 300, and a diagram and a picture in Oldroyd, *Assassination of Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 36, 30.

‡‡Mr. Tanner thinks that this was an error, that Johnson was not present; but there is evidence that the Vice-President came in for a brief period.

writing sat Secretary Stanton writing dispatches to General Dix and others, and giving orders for the guarding of Ford's and the surrounding country. At the left of me was Judge Carter pre-pounding the questions to the witnesses whose answers I was jotting down in Standard Phonography. I was so excited when I commenced that I am afraid that it did not much resemble Standard Phonography or any other kind, but I could read it readily afterward, so what was the difference? In fifteen minutes I had testimony enough down to hang Wilkes Booth, the assassin, higher than ever Haman hung.* I was writing shorthand for about an hour and a half, when I commenced transcribing it. I thought I had been writing about two hours when I looked at the clock and it marked half past four A. M. I commenced writing about 12 M. I could not believe that it was so late, but my watch corroborated it. The surrounding circumstances had so engrossed my attention that I had not noticed the flight of time. In the front room Mrs. Lincoln was uttering the most heartbroken exclamations all the night long. As she passed through the hall back to the parlor after she had taken leave of the President for the last time, as she went by my door I heard her moan, "O, my God, and have I given my husband to die," and I tell you I never heard so much agony in so few words. The President was still alive, but sinking fast. He had been utterly unconscious from the time the shot struck him and remained so until he breathed his last. At 6:45 Saturday morning I finished my notes and passed into the back room where the President lay; it was very evident that he could not last long. There was no crowd in the room, which was very small, but I approached quite near the bed on which so much greatness lay, fast losing its hold on this world. The head of the bed was toward the door; at the head stood Capt. Robert Lincoln weeping on the shoulder of Senator Sumner. General Halleck stood just behind Robert Lincoln and I stood just to the left of General Halleck and between him and General

*Mr. Tanner writes, "Various witnesses were brought in who had either been in Ford's Theatre or up in the vicinity of Mr. Seward's residence. Among them were Harry Hawk, who had been Asa Trenchard that night in the play, *Our American Cousin*, Mr. Alfred Cloughly, Colonel G. V. Rutherford, and others. . . . Through all the testimony given by those who had been in Ford's Theatre that night there was an undertone of horror which held the witnesses back from positively identifying the assassin as Booth. Said Harry Hawk, 'To the best of my belief, it was Mr. John Wilkes Booth, but I will not be positive,' and so it went through the testimony of others but the sum total left no doubt as to the identity of the assassin."

Meiggs.* Secretary Stanton was there trying every way to be calm and yet he was very much moved. The utmost silence prevailed, broken only by the sound of strong men's sobs. It was a solemn time, I assure you. The President breathed heavily until a few minutes before he breathed his last, then his breath came easily and he passed off very quietly.

As soon as he was dead Rev. Dr. Gurley, who has been the President's pastor since his sojourn in this city,† offered up a very impressive prayer. I grasped for my pencil which was in my pocket, as I wished to secure his words, but I was very much disappointed to find that my pencil had been broken in my pocket. I could have taken it very easily as he spoke very favorably for reporting. The friends dispersed, Mrs. Lincoln and family going to the White House, which she had left the night before to attend the theatre with him who never returned to it except in his coffin.

Secretary Stanton told me to take charge of the testimony I had taken, so I went up to my room and took a copy of it, as I wished to keep both my notes and the original copy which I had made while there in the house. They will ever be cherished monuments to me of the awful night and the circumstances with which I found myself so unexpectedly surrounded and which will not soon be forgotten.‡

Saturday night I took the copy I had made to the Secretary's house, but as he was asleep I did not see him, so I left them with my card. I tell you, I would not regret the time and money I have spent on Phonography if it never brought me more than it did that night, for that brought me the privilege of standing by the deathbed of the most remarkable man of modern times and one who will live in the annals of his country as long as she continues to have a history.

Frank Leslie's Illustrated** will have a good picture of the building there made celebrated by this sad event on that evening. I saw the sketch made by the artist of the theatre, and it was very

*See the diagram in Nicolay and Hay.

†Rev. Dr. Phineas D. Gurley, of the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church.

‡They were subsequently bound in a volume, and presented by Mr. Tanner to the Union League Club of Philadelphia, of whose Lincoln Memorial Collection they now form a part.

***Leslie's Illustrated Weekly* for April 29, has drawings, by Albert Berg-haus, of the scene in the President's box at Ford's Theatre, and of the scene in the room where he died; the issue for May 20, of the exterior of the theatre and of the Petersen house, showing also the house next door, and its balcony.

correct, indeed. He also sketched the inside of the room where the President died, also the outside of the building, as well as the adjoining buildings on both sides. You will see the house I board in has a balcony along the front of the two rooms on the second floor; I occupy both of those rooms.

You can imagine the feeling here by judging of the feeling in your own place, only it is the more horrifying from the fact that the President lived in our midst and was universally beloved by the People.

This morning there was published in the Chronicle the statement of one of the witnesses whom I reported, Mr. James B. Ferguson.* You will doubtless see it in your papers as it is most important. I have an idea, which is gaining ground here, and that is that the assassin had assistance in the theatre, and that the President was invited there for the express purpose of assassinating him. The theatre is very strictly guarded now night and day.

Very truly your friend,

James Tanner.

I inquired of Mr. Tanner how far this contemporary account, whose vividness carries its own evidence of its essential truthfulness, accorded with his mature recollections, as he checked them up with the memories of other men, especially with reference to the presence of Andrew Johnson, at Lincoln's deathbed. By way of reply he gave me in manuscript what he had used once or more as an address, in part following the content of his letter, but making one or two corrections, the most important of them being with reference to Andrew Johnson. I am permitted to use this interesting document:

II. THE PASSING OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

By James Tanner

Among all the characters who loomed large in the public mind from 1861 to 1865, one came to stand apart and alone in

**Washington Morning Chronicle*. Testimony of Ferguson, who kept a restaurant adjoining the theatre, is also in Benn Pitman's edition of the *Trial of the Conspirators*, pp. 76-77.

supremacy, finally recognized almost unanimously the world over as without a peer. It took the perspective of many years to enable us to get a correct view of the greatness of his character, his transcendent intellectual endowment, the utter unselfishness of his purpose, his absolute devotion to the interests of the nation which had called him to its leadership and the great agony endured by his loving gentle heart as he staggered under his awful burden, an agony never equaled since the Savior of mankind passed the night in the Garden of Gethsemane.

Our people have shown in a thousand ways and particularly in his recent centennial that every atom relating to the life of Abraham Lincoln is of intense and continuous interest to them and because of this and because of the fact that I was a spectator of the final scene of the supreme tragedy of that time on the morning of April 15, 1865, I pen these lines.

At that time I was an employe of the Ordnance Bureau of the War Department and had some ability as a shorthand writer. The latter fact brought me within touch of the events of that awful night. I had gone with a friend to witness the performance that evening at Grover's Theater, where now stands the New National. Soon after ten o'clock a man rushed in from the lobby and cried out, "President Lincoln has been shot in Ford's Theater." There was great confusion at once, most of the audience rising to their feet. Some one cried out, "It's a ruse of the pickpockets; look out!" Almost everybody resumed his seat, but almost immediately one of the cast stepped out on the stage and said, "The sad news is too true; the audience will disperse."

My friend and myself crossed to Willard's Hotel and there were told that Secretary Seward had been killed. Men's faces blanched as they at once asked, "What news of Stanton? Have they got him too?" The wildest rumors soon filled the air.

I had rooms at the time in the house adjoining the Peterson house, into which the president had been carried. Hastening down to Tenth Street, I found an almost solid mass of humanity blocking the street and the crowd constantly enlarging. A silence

that was appalling prevailed. Interest centered on all who entered or emerged from the Peterson House and all of the latter were closely questioned as to the stricken president's condition. From the first the answers were unvarying—that there was no hope.

A military guard had been placed in front of the house and those adjoining but upon telling the commanding officer that I lived there, I passed up to my apartment, which comprised the second story front of the house. There was a balcony in front and I found my rooms and the balcony thronged by the other occupants of the house. Horror was in every heart and dismay on every countenance. We had just about a week of tumultuous joy over the downfall of Richmond and the collapse of the Confederacy and now in an instant all this was changed to the deepest woe by the foul shot of the cowardly assassin.

It was nearly midnight when Major General Augur came out on the stoop of the Peterson House and asked if there was any one in the crowd who could write shorthand. There was no response from the street but one of my friends on the balcony told the general there was a young man inside who could serve him, whereupon the general told him to ask me to come down as they needed me. So it was that I came into close touch with the scenes and events surrounding the final hours of Abraham Lincoln's life.

Entering the house I accompanied General Augur down the hallway to the rear parlor. When we passed the door of the front parlor the moans and sobs of Mrs. Lincoln struck painfully upon our ears. Entering the rear parlor, I found Secretary Stanton, Judge David K. Carter, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, Honorable B. A. Hill and many others.

I took my seat on one side of a small library table opposite Mr. Stanton, with Judge Carter at the end. Various witnesses were brought in who had either been in Ford's Theater or up in the vicinity of Mr. Seward's residence. Among them were Harry Hawk, who had been Asa Trenchard that night in the

play, *Our American Cousin*, Mr. Alfred Cloughly, Colonel G. V. Rutherford and others. As I took down the statements they made we were distracted by the distress of Mrs. Lincoln, for though the folding doors between the two parlors were closed, her frantic sorrow was distressingly audible to us.

She was accompanied by Miss Harris, of New York, who, with her fiancé, Major Rathbone, had gone to the theater with the President and Mrs. Lincoln. Booth in his rush through the box after firing the fatal shot had lunged at Major Rathbone with his dagger and wounded him in the arm slightly. In the naturally intense excitement over the president's condition, it is probable that Major Rathbone himself did not realize that he was wounded until after he had been in the Peterson House some time, when he fainted from loss of blood, was attended to, his wound dressed, and he taken to his apartments. He and Miss Harris subsequently married.

Through all the testimony given by those who had been in Ford's Theater that night, there was an undertone of horror which held the witnesses back from positively identifying the assassin as Booth. Said Harry Hawk, "To the best of my belief, it was Mr. John Wilkes Booth, but I will not be positive," and so it went through the testimony of others but the sum total left no doubt as to the identity of the assassin.

Our task was interrupted very many times during the night, sometimes by reports or despatches for Secretary Stanton but more often by him for the purpose of issuing orders calculated to enmesh Booth in his flight. "Guard the Potomac from the city down," was his repeated direction. "He will try to get South." Many despatches were sent from that table before morning, some to General Dix at New York, others to Chicago, Philadelphia, etc.

Several times Mr. Stanton left us a few moments and passed back to the room in the ell at the end of the hall where the president lay. The doors were open and sometimes there would be a few seconds of absolute silence when we could hear plainly the

stertorous breathing of the dying man. I think it was on his return from his third trip of this kind when, as he again took his seat opposite me, I looked earnestly at him, desiring yet hesitating to ask if there was any chance of life. He understood and I saw a choke in his throat as he slowly forced the answer to my unspoken question—"There is no hope." He had impressed me through those awful hours as being a man of steel but I knew then that he was dangerously near a convulsive breakdown.

During the night there came in, I think, about every man then of prominence in our national life who was in the capital at the time and who had heard of the tragedy. A few whom I distinctly recall were Secretaries Welles, Usher and McCullough, Attorney General Speed and Postmaster General Dennison, Assistant Secretaries Field and Otto, Governor Oglesby, Senators Sumner and Stewart, and Generals Meigs and Augur. I have seen many asserted pictures of the deathbed scene and most of them have Vice-President Andrew Johnson seated in a chair near the foot of the bed on the left side. Mr. Johnson was not in the house at all but in his rooms in the Kirkwood House and knew nothing of the events of that night till he was aroused in the morning by Senator Stewart and others and told that he was President of the United States.

With the completion of the taking of the testimony I at once began to transcribe my shorthand notes into longhand. Twice while so engaged, Miss Harris supported Mrs. Lincoln down the hallway to her husband's bedside. The door leading into the hallway from the room wherein I sat was open and I had a plain view of them as they slowly passed. Mrs. Lincoln was not at the bedside when her husband breathed his last. Indeed, I think it was nearly, if not quite, two hours before the end, when she paid her last visit to the death chamber and when she passed our door on her return, she cried out, "Oh! my God, and have I given my husband to die!"

I have witnessed and experienced much physical agony on

battle-field and in hospital but of it all, nothing sunk deeper in my memory than that moan of a breaking heart.

I finished transcribing my notes at six forty-five in the morning and passed back into the room where the president lay. There were gathered all those whose names I have mentioned and many others—about twenty or twenty-five in all, I should judge. The bed had been pulled out from the corner and owing to the stature of Mr. Lincoln, he lay diagonally on his back. He had been utterly unconscious from the instant the bullet plowed into his brain. His stertorous breathing subsided a couple of minutes after seven o'clock. From then to the end only the gentle rise and fall of his bosom gave indication that life remained.

The surgeon general was near the head of the bed, sometimes sitting on the edge thereof, his finger on the pulse of the dying man. Occasionally he put his ear down to catch the lessening beats of his heart. Mr. Lincoln's pastor, The Reverend Doctor Gurley, stood a little to the left of the bed. Mr. Stanton sat in a chair near the foot on the left, where the pictures place Andrew Johnson. I stood quite near the head of the bed and from that position had full view of Mr. Stanton across the president's body. At my right Robert Lincoln sobbed on the shoulder of Charles Sumner.

Stanton's gaze was fixed intently on the countenance of his dying chief. He had, as I said, been a man of steel throughout the night but as I looked at his face across the corner of the bed and saw the twitching of the muscles I knew that it was only by a powerful effort that he restrained himself.

The first indication that the dreaded end had come was at twenty-two minutes past seven when the surgeon general gently crossed the pulseless hands of Lincoln across the motionless breast and rose to his feet.

Reverend Doctor Gurley stepped forward and lifting his hands began, "Our Father and our God"—I snatched pencil and note-book from my pocket but my haste defeated my purpose. My pencil point (I had but one) caught in my coat and broke, and

the world lost the prayer—a prayer which was only interrupted by the sobs of Stanton as he buried his face in the bedclothes. As “Thy will be done, Amen,” in subdued and tremulous tones floated through that little chamber, Mr. Stanton raised his head, the tears streaming down his cheeks. A more agonized expression I never saw on a human countenance as he sobbed out the words, “He belongs to the ages now.”

Mr. Stanton directed Major Thomas M. Vincent of the staff to take charge of the body, called a meeting of the Cabinet in the room where we had passed most of the night and the assemblage dispersed.

Going to my apartment, I sat down at once to make a second longhand copy for Mr. Stanton of the testimony I had taken, it occurring to me that I wished to retain the one I had written out that night. I had been thus engaged but a brief time when hearing some commotion on the street, I stepped to the window and saw a coffin containing the body of the dead president being placed in a hearse which passed up Tenth Street to F and thus to the White House, escorted by a lieutenant and ten privates. As they passed with measured tread and arms reversed, my hand involuntarily went to my head in salute as they started on their long, long journey back to the prairies and the hearts he knew and loved so well, the mortal remains of the greatest American of all time, bar none.

(Signed) James Tanner.

III. THE DIARY OF JOHN WILKES BOOTH

Interest in matters relating to John Wilkes Booth had been increased in recent years by a book written by Finis L. Bates, of Memphis, entitled *The Escape and Suicide of John Wilkes Booth*. Mr. Bates knew, in 1872, a man who called himself John St. Helen, then living at Granberry, Texas. This man he firmly believed to have been Booth. On January 13, 1903, a man committed suicide at Enid, Oklahoma, whose name as known in

that locality was David E. George. This man, by a chain of evidence which need not here be repeated, was believed by some to have been Booth. Mr. Bates went to Enid and became convinced that George was the man he had known in 1872 as St. Helen, and he secured additional evidence which caused him to believe that this was Booth. Reverend Clarence True Wilson has delivered a lecture setting forth this claim, and it has been accepted by the Oklahoma State Historical Society. Ray Stannard Baker, in *McClure's* for May, 1897, gives in detail the story of the death and burial of Booth. William G. Shepherd in *Harper's Magazine* for November, 1924, investigates and denies the Bates claim. There can be no doubt of Mr. Bates' good faith, and his evidence was worked up with real ability. He died on Thanksgiving Day, 1923.

The War Department has, and keeps with great care, the *Diary* of John Wilkes Booth, recovered from his body as he was shot in the Garrett corn-crib. It is a small volume, bound in red leather, lined with silk. I have copied its story of the assassination and of the events that followed. In one or two places I am unable to decipher the words. It is apparent that Booth expected to be hailed as a hero and was horrified that he was regarded as a common criminal.

The Library of Harvard College has the record book of the Baltimore cemetery in which the stubs show a receipt for the body of Booth. This shows unquestionably what Booth's relatives believed, or at the very least what they wished the public to think they believed. Mr. H. H. Kohlsatt recently published in the *Saturday Evening Post* the letters of the Booth family to Andrew Johnson and President Grant asking for the body, which eventually they obtained and buried in Baltimore.

It was written at two different times. The entry dated April fourteenth may be presumed to have been penned in the house of Doctor Mudd, where Booth rested for a few hours while his leg was set, and the other, dated April twenty-first, four days before his discovery.

April 14. Friday the Ides. Until to-day nothing was ever thought of sacrificing to our country's wrongs. For six months we had worked to capture. But, our cause being almost lost, something decisive and great must be done. But its failure was owing to others who did not strike for their country with a heart. I struck boldly, and not as the papers say. I walked with a firm step through a thousand of his friends, was stopped, but pushed on. A Colonel was at his side. I shouted *sic semper* before I fired. In jumping, broke my leg. I passed all his pickets, rode sixty miles that night with the bone of my leg tearing the flesh at every jump. I can never repent it. Though we hated to our country owed all her troubles to him, and God simply made me the instrument of his punishment. The country is not what I have loved. I care not what becomes of me. I have no desire to outlive my country. This night before the deed I wrote a long article and left it for the *National Intelligencer* in which I fully set forth our reasons for our proceedings. We of the south.

Friday 21. After being hunted like a dog through swamps, woods, and last night being chased by gunboats till I was forced to return, wet, cold and starving, with every man's hand against me, I am here in despair, and why? .

For doing what Brutus was honored for—who made Tell a Hero. And yet I have stricken down a greater tyrant than they ever knew. I am looked upon as a common cut-throat. My action was purer than either of theirs. One hoped to be great himself, the other had not only his country's but his own wrongs to avenge. I hoped for no gain. I knew no private wrongs. I struck for my country, and for that alone. A country ground down under this tyranny, and prayed for this . . . yet now behold the cold hand they . . . to me. God cannot pardon me if I have done wrong. Yet I cannot see any wrong except in serving a degenerate people.

The little, the very little I left behind to clear my name, the Govmt will not permit to be printed. So ends all. For my country I have given all that makes life sweet and Holy, brought misery upon my family, and am sure there is no pardon in the Heavens for me, since Man condemns me so . . . of what has been done . . . I did myself and it fills me with horror.

God! try and forgive me and bless my mother. To-night I will once more try the river with the intention to cross, though I have a greater desire and almost a mind to return to Washington,

and in a measure clear my name which I feel I could do. I do not repent the blow I struck. I may before my God, but not to man. I think I have done well, though I am abandoned, with the curse of Cain upon me, when, if the world knew my heart, that one blow would have made me great, though I did not desire greatness.

To-night I try to escape the bloodhounds once more. Who, who can read his fate? God's will be done . . . too great a soul to die like a criminal.

May He, may He spare me that, and let me die bravely! I bless the entire world. Have never hated or wronged any one. This was not wrong unless God deems it so, and it's with Him to damn or bless me. And . . . this brave boy Herold with me . . . often prays (yes, before and since) with a true and sincere heart. Was it a crime in him?

If so, why can he pray the same? I do not wish to shed a drop of blood, but I must "fight the course." 'Tis all that's left me.

There is little need to comment on these records, or to emphasize the contrast between the frame of mind the writer was in at the time when he made the first of them and that which succeeded in the distressing week that followed.

His attempt to escape did not succeed. The pursuing avengers hemmed him in closer and yet more closely. Late on the afternoon of April twenty-fifth, a cavalry squad located him in a barn in Virginia, and ordered him to surrender. On his refusal, they fired the barn. Booth still refused to come out, but asked that Herold be permitted to surrender, and he was taken prisoner. As the flames lighted up the interior of the building, Booth was seen with a carbine, and was shot, against orders, by a half-insane soldier, Boston Corbett. The bullet lodged in the base of Booth's brain, and he was paralyzed below that point, but fully conscious until his death. The wound he received was similar to that he inflicted upon the president, with this difference, that Lincoln knew no moment of suffering, and Booth must have suffered exquisite pain from the moment he was wounded until his death on the following morning.

IV. HOW EDWIN BOOTH SAVED ROBERT LINCOLN'S LIFE

Edwin Booth was playing at Cincinnati when his brother murdered President Lincoln. He was not permitted to continue the play, but left the city quietly and in some apprehension of violence. Some newspapers made a commendable effort to dissociate his name from that of his brother by affirming that he had always been a friend of the Union. The *New York Times*, on Sunday, April 16, 1865, the day following the death of Lincoln, in an editorial on the murder, related the following incident, which proves, on investigation, to have been substantially correct. It is certainly a coincidence worth recording that only a few weeks before the assassination, the brother of Lincoln's murderer saved the life of Lincoln's son:

Quite recently his brother Edwin ejected him (John Wilkes Booth) from his house in New York, simply because his expressions were unbearable to a man of loyalty and intelligence. And here it is only thoughtful and just to say that the Union cause has no stronger or more generous supporter than Mr. Edwin Booth. From the commencement he has been earnestly and actively solicitous for the triumph of our arms and the welfare of our soldiers. An incident—a trifle in itself—may be recalled at this moment when the profound monotony of grief overwhelms us. Not a month since, Mr. Edwin Booth was proceeding to Washington. At Trenton there was a general scramble to reach the cars, which had started, leaving many behind in the refreshment saloons. Mr. Edwin Booth was preceded by a gentleman whose foot slipped as he was stepping on the platform, and who would have fallen at once beneath the wheels had not Mr. Edwin Booth's arm sustained him. The gentleman remarked that he had had a narrow escape of his life and was thankful to his preserver. It was Robert Lincoln, the son of the great, good man who now lies dead before our blistered eyes, and whose name we cannot mention without choking.

In some way this incident came to the knowledge of Lieutenant-General Grant, who at once wrote a civil letter to Mr. Edwin Booth and said that if he could serve him at any time he would be glad to do so. Mr. Booth replied, playfully, that when he

(Grant) was in Richmond, he (Booth) would like to play for him there. It was a trifle, but it is well to remember trifles when a man so stricken and overwhelmed as is Mr. Edwin Booth is spoken of.

V. THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

It is surprising that so short an address should exist in so many varying yet apparently authoritative forms. It will be found of value to have for comparison the most interesting and significant of the drafts and press reports. Doctor Charles Moore, head of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, has compiled a typewritten text of seven different versions from original documents. These have been collated with meticulous care. I am using these by his courtesy and am adding certain others which for particular reasons are of special value in this work.

As here arranged, Numbers One and Two, which are known as the First and Second Library of Congress drafts, are bound in a single cover. The first is a rough and the second a fair copy of the same version of the address. These manuscripts were given to the Library of Congress by the children of John Hay. Apparently both were written before the address was delivered. The first page of Number One is written on a sheet of Executive Mansion paper, in ink. The second page is written in pencil on a sheet of foolscap, and a few words at the bottom of the first page are changed in pencil. According to Nicolay's account (*Century Magazine*, February, 1894,) these changes were made by Lincoln after he arrived in Gettysburg. If so, the second Library of Congress draft must also have been written in Gettysburg, after the first draft was corrected and before delivery. It contains certain phrases that are not in the first draft, but *are* in the reports of the address as delivered and in subsequent copies made by Lincoln. It seems probable that this second Library of Congress draft was the final revision before delivering the address, and was the copy that Lincoln held in his hand while speaking, although he apparently referred to it so little that some of those present thought he

spoke extemporaneously. The words "under God," in the last sentence of the address as reported, and in all subsequent copies made by Lincoln, are not in either of the Library of Congress drafts.

Number One

First Library of Congress draft

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that "all men are created equal."

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of it, as a final resting place for those who died here, that the nation might live. This we may, in all propriety do.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow, this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have hallowed it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here; while it can never forget what they did here. It is rather for us, the living, we here be dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that, from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people by the people for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Number Two

Second Library of Congress draft

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation, so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met here on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of it as a final resting place

for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a larger sense we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they have, thus far, so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation shall have a new birth of freedom; and that this government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Number Three

The Associated Press Report

Different newspapers using the Associated Press report made mistakes in transcription. That report is given in the text, and is the basis of all reports that showed "Applause." The *New York Tribune* was one of several papers having special correspondents present, and used the Associated Press report, probably in a special dispatch from Gettysburg. It is one of the most careful of the special reports.

(Special Correspondence New York Tribune, November 21, 1863.)

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new Nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. [Applause].

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that Nation or any Nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a larger sense we can not dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men living and dead who struggled here have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. [Applause]. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. [Applause]. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. [Applause]. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain [Applause]; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom; and that governments of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth. [Long-continued applause.]

Number Four—Charles Hale's Report

The Fourth is the report taken down by Charles Hale, and incorporated in the Report of the Massachusetts Commissioners to Governor John A. Andrew, and by him included in Massachusetts Legislative Documents (Senate, 1864, No. 1, p. lxii) presented to the Legislature. Mr. Hale affirmed that Lincoln spoke very deliberately and that Hale took down every word precisely as Lincoln uttered it. This, presumably, gives us precisely the words which President Lincoln actually spoke at Gettysburg:

As reported by the Massachusetts Commissioners. [In Massachusetts Legislative Docs. Senate. 1864].

Four score and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation—or any nation, so conceived and so dedicated—can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who have given their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate, we can not consecrate, we can not hallow, this ground. The brave men, living

and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our power to add or to detract. The world will very little note nor long remember what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, *to be dedicated*, here, to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Number Five

The Philadelphia Inquirer's Report

Of the reports that attempted some degree of independence of the manuscript of the reporter for the Associated Press, some are of considerable interest, two of them markedly so. The first of these is the report that appeared in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* of November 20, 1863. The Philadelphia papers appear to have been the only ones that reported Lincoln as speaking of "our *poor* power." Neither the Massachusetts nor the Associated Press report contains the adjective. It was in the manuscript which Lincoln held and in his later revisions, but he appears inadvertently to have omitted the word. The *Gettysburg Compiler* used this report in its account of the ceremonies, November twenty-third; so this is the version which the Gettysburg people had before them as that which they had heard from the lips of Lincoln.

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing the question whether this nation or any nation so conceived, so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on the great battle-field of that war. We are met to dedicate it, on a portion of the field set apart as the final

resting place of those who gave their lives for the nation's life, but the nation must live, and it is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

In a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground in reality. The number of men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor attempts to add to its consecration. The world will little know and nothing remember of what we see here, but we cannot forget what these brave men did here.

We owe this offering to our dead. We imbibe increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; we here might resolve that they shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that the Government of the people, for the people, and for all people, shall not perish from earth.

Number Six

The Cincinnati Gazette's Report

A number of papers, among them the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* for November twenty-first, gave to their readers this very faulty version of the Gettysburg Address:

Four score and seven years ago our fathers established upon this Continent a Government subscribed in liberty and dedicated to the fundamental principle that all mankind are created free and equal by a good God. And now we are engaged in a great contest deciding the question whether this nation or any nation so conserved, so dedicated, can long remain. We are met on a great battle-field of the war. We are met here to dedicate a portion of that field as the final resting place of those who have given their lives that it might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a large sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, the living and the dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add to or detract from the work. Let us long remember what we say here, but not forget what they did here.

It is for us, the living, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried forward. It is for

us here to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us, for us to renew our devotion to that cause for which they gave the full measure of their devotion. Here let us resolve that what they have done shall not have been done in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth offered; that the Government of the people, founded by the people, shall not perish.

Number Seven

The Baltimore Copy

The first two versions here given, and the three that are to follow, are all in existence, and in Lincoln's handwriting. Any one of them may be considered correct. The last three represent not only the careful preparation before the delivery of the address, but the thoughtful revision which Lincoln gave to it afterward in the light of his comparison of his manuscript with the press reports. These three copies vary in very small and immaterial details, but they illustrate the evolution of Lincoln's final text. The copy which we number seven was made by Lincoln for the Sanitary Commission Fair in New York in 1864, and is now (1925) owned by Senator Henry W. Keyes, of New Hampshire.

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives, that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here, have, thus

far, so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that, government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Number Eight

The Bancroft Copy

Lincoln, having made a copy to accompany the Everett oration and to be used at the Sanitary Fair in New York, was invited to write another copy to be used with facsimiles of the writings of many authors in a volume to be sold at the Soldiers' and Sailors' Fair in Baltimore. His first copy made for this purpose was not available because it was written on both sides of the sheet. He therefore wrote another and a final copy, permitting this one to be retained by Honorable George Bancroft, in whose family it now (1925) remains.

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives; that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far

so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Number Nine

The Standard Version

The final copy made for the Baltimore Fair is known as the Standard Version, and is that found in facsimile in the volume *Autograph Leaves of our Country's Authors*. The original is owned (1925) by Professor William J. A. Bliss, Baltimore.

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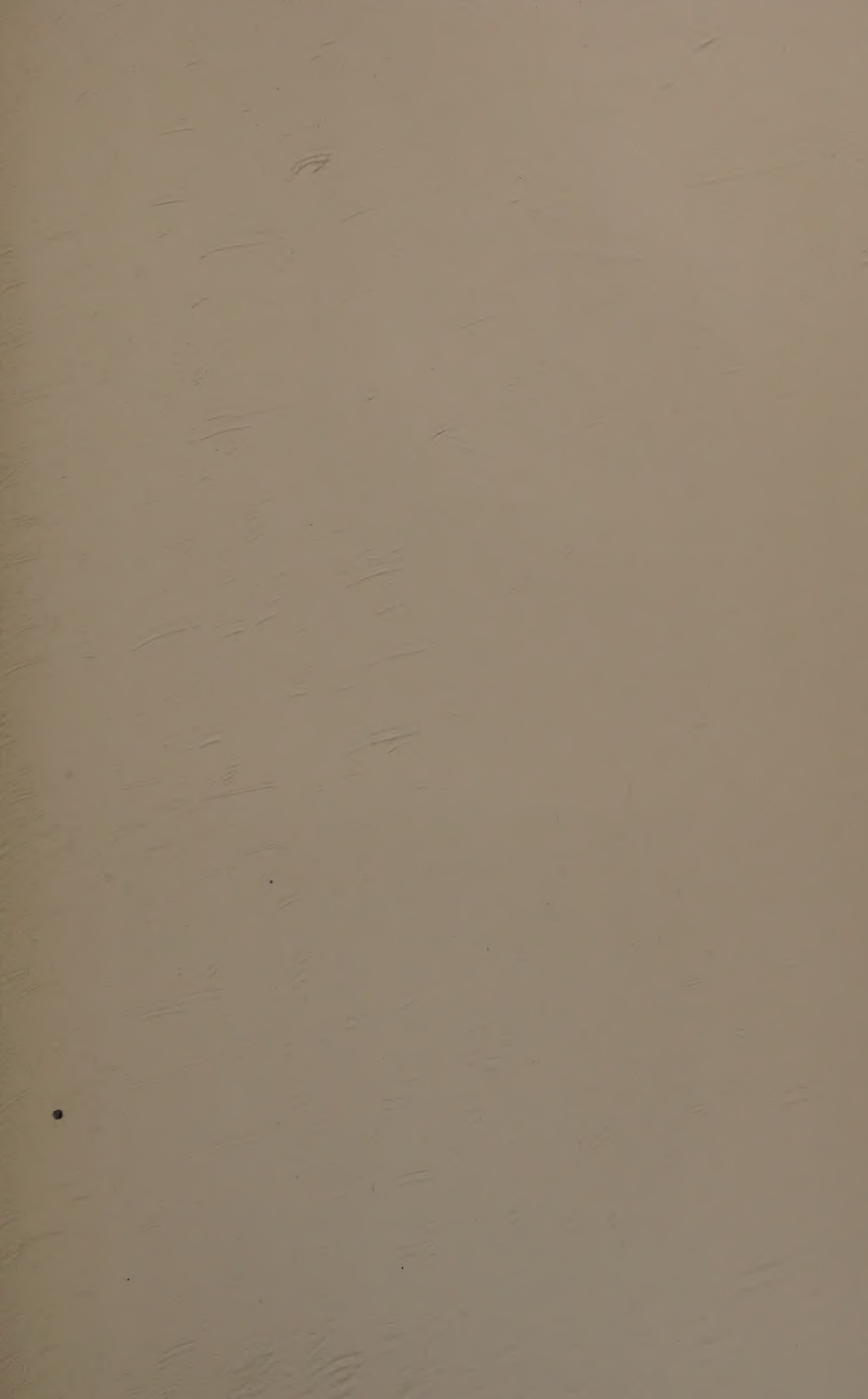
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